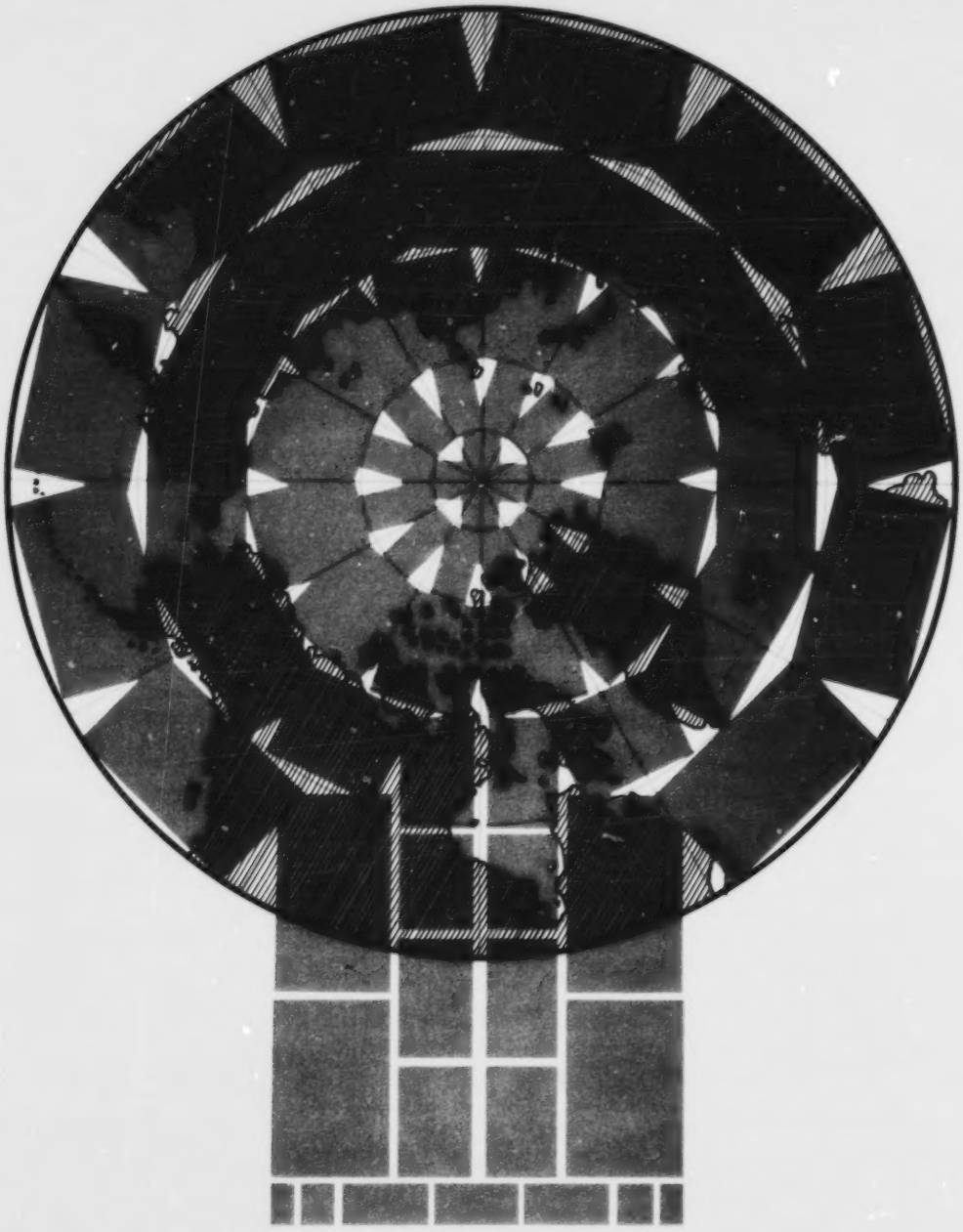
SELF DETERMINATION IN NATIVE EDUCATION IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR NORTH



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Proceedings of the Seminar

Inuit Control of Inuit Education

Self-determination in Native Education in the Circumpolar North

Sponsored by
The Steering Committee for the
International Circumpolar Education Seminar Series
in the Circumpolar North

Iqaluit, Northwest Territories, Canada
June 27 - July 1, 1987

Editors
Malcolm Farrow and David Wilman

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FOREWORD

William Demmert

This publication represents the fourth in a series about education in the Circumpolar North. The publications are jointly sponsored by the Steering Committee for the International Cross-Cultural Education Seminar Series in the Circumpolar North, and the respective country hosting the seminar.

The first seminar held in Alaska in October 1976 did not generate a formal report. The only documentation about the proceedings was an article published in a weekly newspaper concentrating on news of particular interest to Native Alaskans. The story can be found in the October 23, 1976 edition of the Tundra Times. The first three formal reports consisted of edited papers from the Nuuk, Greenland seminar (1977); the Kautokeino, Norway seminar (1978); and a Juneau, Alaska steering committee meeting (1985). This fourth report, Self-Determination in Native Education in the Circumpolar North edited by Malcolm Farrow and David Wilman, recounts the proceedings of the seminar at Iqaluit, Northwest Territories, Canada, from June 27 to July 1, 1987.

Each of the reports herein generally focus on issues of concern in the host country. Each presents contemporary thinking of practitioners and Native leaders from circumpolar nations. The reports have been used as a base from which to develop a dialogue toward consensus, and to record the

change in the thinking and actions of educators working to improve educational opportunities for indigenous populations in the North.

The Steering Committee for the International Cross-Cultural Education Seminar Series in the Circumpolar North would like to thank the Minister of Education of the Northwest Territories for sponsoring the Iqaluit Seminar and all the many educators who worked so hard to make it such a success. We hope that the Iqaluit seminar and this report continue the positive influences of earlier seminars and reports. We believe this to be the case after reviewing the activities of participant countries contained in the following pages. We also believe the participation at the seminar of the Ministers of Education from participating countries was an added dimension.

The Ministers have continued their dialogue since Iqaluit. Two follow-up meetings were held, one in Juneau, Alaska in May, 1988 and another in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, Canada, in June, 1989, for the purpose of discussing ways to improve the educational opportunities and academic and social/cultural well-being of Native populations.

The next seminar in the series is scheduled for Barrow, Alaska in September, 1989. It is expected that the Soviets will participate for the first time, and that they will add membership to both the International Steering Committee and the Ministers coalition.

INTRODUCTION

David Wilman and Malcolm Farrow

The Iqaluit Seminar was the fifth in a series of seminars which have focused on education in the Circumpolar North. This series of seminars has been uniquely successful in bringing together scholars, educational administrators, teachers, students and other interested individuals from many of the circumpolar nations to share information, to discuss concerns and to exchange ideas.

At the Juneau Seminar in 1985, it was noted once again that no seminar had been held in Canada. The Steering Committee, therefore, began to search for a suitable Canadian location for the next seminar. Encouraged by Malcolm Farrow, Principal of the Gordon Robertson Education Centre in Iqaluit, (then a graduate student at the Scott Polar Institute in Cambridge, England), the community of Iqaluit on Baffin Island in the Northwest Territories was selected as a venue. David Wilman, Principal of the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP), agreed to coordinate the planning in Iqaluit. With support from Dennis Patterson, the NWT Minister of Education, Farrow and Wilman began to plan the logistics of the fifth seminar. Several of the senior Inuit teachers working or studying in Iqaluit at that time were invited to form the local organizing committee. They were: Leena Evic-Twerdin and Naullaq Arnaquq who are both instructors at EATEP; Monica Ittusardjuat and Liz Apak Rose, both teachers from Igloolik on leave for studies at EATEP, and Simon Okpakok and Mary Cousins, both teachers in Iqaluit.

The organizing committee identified Inuit Control of Inuit Education as the major theme for the Seminar, with Native Teacher Training and Curriculum as secondary themes, since these topics are crucial to the realization of effective Native language education programs. A unique aspect of the Iqaluit Seminar was the involvement of a group of Inuit elders, community leaders and cultural

instructors from around the eastern Arctic who were invited to express their concerns about our schools and to suggest ways in which educational programs for Inuit could be improved.

The Iqaluit Seminar had an added dimension. It was the site for a concurrent meeting of Northern Ministers of Education. This was the first time that the politicians jointly responsible for circumpolar education had ever met together as a group. The politicians and seminar participants had opportunities to meet at the plenary sessions. The ministerial meeting concluded with the signing of several memoranda of understanding, and with an agreement to hold further meetings at regular intervals. A summary of these memoranda appears in the appendices.

An important aspect of the seminar series is that it brings together small groups of people from very different backgrounds and with different concerns, who share a commitment to improving northern education. This diverse mix of individuals makes for a dynamic and practical forum. As you read through these proceedings, reflect on how well the various issues and ideas raised by our contributors complement each other. Consider also how well they address both the Seminar's themes and the concerns voiced by the Inuit elders.

We have divided the proceedings into the parts which correspond to the Seminar's central theme, Inuit Control of Inuit Education and to its secondary themes, Native Teacher Training and Curriculum. Where a paper dealt with topics which crossed over these groupings, we have included it where we felt it best. Mary Wilman and Leena Evic-Twerdin have prepared a record of the comments made by the Inuit elders who participated in the seminar. The elders' comments help to set the tone for the Seminar and are included in the introductory materials along with Terence Armstrong's history of the Seminar Series.

The papers on Inuit Control are, overall, optimistic in nature. Frank Darnell reviews the developments in Native education during the last twenty years and highlights the advances that have taken in most of the educational jurisdictions represented at the Seminar. He discusses both the issues of locus of control of educational programs and, to put it simply, the changes in teaching styles and programs adopted to make our schools and colleges better places for Native students. While recognizing that there have been failures, Darnell points out that "the best ways for schools to meet the changing technological and social needs of a people" and to contribute to the preservation of their "traditional social and cultural" heritage is through "the concerted effort and involvement of the people themselves."

Inuit Circumpolar Conference President, Mary Simon, reiterates Darnell's points in her keynote address which bears the same title as the Seminar. She emphasizes that not only should native peoples be given control of their own educational affairs through enabling legislation, but that through flexible and responsive administrative structures, they should also have the ability to ensure that the education they offer their children is beneficial for them. That is, educational programs should be both culturally appropriate and relevant to the students' situation. The success of native controlled education systems will, according to Simon, be measured by their ability to "reinforce the cultural identity of the students" and by "the number of leaders and other skilled persons generated by the system who can assume useful roles" in our various northern societies.

In his powerful paper David Serkoak discusses the roles different individuals and groups must adopt if native peoples are ever to achieve "ownership" of their schools and if the curriculum is ever to become truly culturally appropriate. He emphasizes the need for the involvement of local community resources and native parents in the operation of schools and in the development of curriculum.

Each of these speakers must have been encouraged by the papers presented on behalf of the Inuit controlled Baffin Divisional Board of Education by Okalik Eegeesiak and Brian Menton. Eegeesiak describes the development of the Board from its advisory status of about twelve years ago, through the stages of partial control to its formal establishment in 1985. Menton summarizes the Board's recent statement of philosophy, Our Future is Now. Both speakers describe developments that complement the suggestions made by Darnell, Simon and Serkoak. The several presentations made by the Kativik School Board, the first Inuit controlled school board in Canada, which are described in the sections on teacher training and curriculum, demonstrate the effectiveness of well-planned native control.

In his summary paper, Bill Demmert reviews the ideas which had arisen during the Seminar and presents them as a set of principles on which to operate our schools in today's technological world. His main point is that while native control of the education of native students and culturally appropriate curricula are of great importance, native students must also be prepared to face the ever-changing and more complex technological world we live in today.

The determination of the indigenous peoples of the circumpolar world to take control of their own education systems has caused an urgent demand for trained native teachers and for the development of linguistically and culturally appropriate curriculum and learning materials. These topics, therefore, were the important secondary themes of the Iqaluit Seminar.

Papers describing successful native teacher training programs in Canada, Greenland and Norway attested to the critical role of trained native teachers in the establishment and maintenance of effective native control of education. Jan Henry Keskitalo describes the training of Saami teachers within the standard Norwegian teacher training curriculum. He emphasizes the necessity of a strong Saami language and cultural studies component within the program, and describes plans for the

establishment of a separate and independent Sammi Teachers' College at Kautokeino. Happily, we can report that this new institution will open in 1989. Ingmar Egede, describing the hundred and forty year history of teacher training in Greenland, makes essentially the same point: the language and culture of the teacher trainees must form the core of the training program.

Betsy Annahatak and Doris Winkler of the Kativik School Board and David Wilman of EATEP describe their respective programs, both of which are affiliated with McGill University. In the space of little more than ten years, these programs have been very successful in redressing the drastic shortage of Inuit teachers in Northern Quebec and the Eastern NWT. The degree of success achieved is evident by the number of programs based on the EATEP/Kativik models used by native groups in several parts of Canada and as far away as Peru. Annahatak and Winkler stress that a native teacher training program must be "truly adapted to the lifestyle of its teachers, to their environment and their culture."

The group of papers we have classified under the broad title Curriculum, include descriptions of some of the curricular initiatives of the Kativik School Board in the area of Inuktitut reading and learning materials, and in other culturally based programs. These papers, by Kativik pedagogical counsellors and consultants, complement the excellent workshop presentations they offered at the Seminar.

In his paper, The Swan Song of an Expert, Mick Mallon discusses the demise of the non-native expert which occurs as Native peoples take on the responsibility, not only of controlling but also for delivering their education programs.

Noel McDermott describes the importance of literature in society, pointing out that "literature expresses the cultural identity of a people." McDermott encourages the reading and writing of the

"literature of liberation" which will empower Inuit to make choices which are meaningful and useful to them. He suggests that much of this literature is to be found in the stories, songs and myths of Inuit elders and in the Inuit tradition of storytelling, and warns that unless a record of this priceless heritage is made soon, "irreparable losses" will be incurred. According to McDermott, the wisdom and knowledge of the past are the foundation for strength and confidence today.

Ester Cullblom and Karla Jessen Williamson offer commentaries on the importance of self-esteem and describe the debilitating effects of the loss of self-esteem often experienced by native students in school systems controlled by and geared to the values of majority groups. Based on her studies of the Finnish-speaking minority in the Tornedalen region of Sweden, Cullblom describes how changes in self-concept can lead to more positive and productive educational experiences. Williamson suggest that when school programs are relevant and useful to Inuit, the pattern of failure, social discontent and generational conflict will be overcome.

The underlying theme of this Seminar was empowerment: the empowering of indigenous peoples to take charge of and to determine their own educational priorities and processes. Empowerment is a dynamic term. It necessarily involves parents and communities who are determined that their language, traditions and values play a central role in the education of their children and young people. It also necessarily involves teachers and administrators who, respecting and supporting the objectives of those parents and communities, become advocates for minority students rather than continuing to adhere to inflexible, irrelevant and long discredited curricula.

Many of the papers and presentations offered at the Iqaluit Seminar show that when native peoples are in control of their own educational programs, and when their decisions are supported and implemented by the teachers and administrators they employ, a pattern of educational success and

increased levels of individual aspiration develop. It is this success that empowers native students and opens the door to full and equal participation in the wider society.

Let us hope that through the meetings, papers and long evenings of informal discussion we enjoyed at this Seminar, we have learned that many of our problems are shared and that their solution may well be found in joint, circumpolar initiatives. This, surely, is our mutual objective.

Iqaluit and Yellowknife. August 1989.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND TO THE SEMINAR SERIES

Terence Armstrong

Terence Armstrong is a respected scholar from the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge University. His long-time interest in and commitment to circumpolar affairs has resulted in the publication of many books and articles. His particular interest is the Soviet Arctic, its environment and peoples.

The grandfather of the present conference was a meeting called the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations, held at Montreal in August, 1969. This meeting produced a volume of proceedings called Education in the North, edited by Professor Frank Darnell, who was also the Chairman of the Conference. Happily, he is with us here today.

Arising from this meeting, a group of interested specialists set up, in 1975, a committee to pursue further the aims of that Conference. The committee was non-governmental, non-official, and had a predominantly Native membership. The members come from all the circumpolar countries except the USSR, which has so far not responded to invitations to join. The first Chairman was Roger Lang, then President of the Alaska Federation of Natives. He was succeeded by William Demmert, now Commissioner for Education of the State of Alaska and formerly Dean of the School of Education and Liberal Arts at the University of Alaska at Juneau. The present membership remains substantially the same as in 1975: Mary Cousins (Canada), Frank Darnell (Alaska), Ingmar Egede (Greenland), Anton Hoem (Norway), Jan Henry Keskitalo (Norway), Edna Maclean (Alaska), Terence Armstrong (Britain). In addition, Malcolm Farrow (Canada) and David Wilman (Canada) were co-opted for the present seminar at Iqaluit. The full name of the

committee is the Steering Committee for the International Cross-Cultural Education Seminar Series in the Circumpolar North, a long name, but one we found difficult to shorten.

The objectives of the committee have always remained the same. Briefly, these are:

(i) To promote meetings between Native educationalists to exchange ideas.

(ii) To note how Native groups are assuming responsibility in their regions and to document the consequences.

(iii) To provide government policy makers with fresh insights into perception of education programs by northern peoples.

(iv) To provide northern examples for other parts of the world with similar problems.

The committee has organized a series of meetings, some planning sessions and some seminars in order to realize these objectives. The Committee's opening session was in Cambridge in September, 1975. The first seminar, on the theme Education and the Land, took place at Fairbanks in October, 1976. Another seminar, on Education and Society, was held at Nuuk in June, 1977, and a third, on Education and Ethnic Identity, at Kautokeino in June, 1978. There was a Committee meeting at Skarrildhus, Denmark, in September, 1979, and this marked the end of a first round of meetings. A second round started in May, 1985, with a small seminar on Education Among Indigenous Populations at Juneau in May, 1985. This was followed by a Committee meeting at Helsingor in June, 1986 leading to the present seminar in Iqaluit, with the theme Inuit Control of Inuit Education. Reports were issued after most of the seminars, and it

is believed that significant impact was made on educational thinking in the northern context.

Support for the Committee's work was obtained, initially, from the Ford Foundation, with the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge acting as treasurer and administrative centre. Many other institutions, including governments, gave support by helping their nationals to attend seminars.

The Committee has always followed the policy of encouraging the local group, who will be acting as hosts for any given seminar, to choose the theme for discussion, and to plan the programme. The Committee sees its own role as one of stimulating interest. Its hope is that by bringing a group of interested persons together, they will start to find solutions to their problems.

ELDERS' DISCUSSION ON INUKTITUT EDUCATION

Summary by Leena Evic-Twerdin and Mary Wilman

Introductory Remarks - Leena Evic-Twerdin and David Serkoak.

> We have people here from different communities to discuss their concerns about Inuktitut education. We would like to give you this opportunity to voice your concerns and share your ideas. We hope that you will feel free to express your feelings. Before the participants introduce themselves, we would like to thank you all for coming. For those of you who are going to voice your concerns, we encourage you to speak freely. We are sure you have had children who have gone through the education system.

After this brief introduction, David Serkoak turned the session over to the participants and encouraged them to gather their ideas, thoughts and concerns about education and prepare to share them with others. What follows is a free translation of what each of the elders and panellists said.

Jonah Kelly of Iqaluit - *Jonah is a well known radio broadcaster.*

What I have to say is directly regarding education in Iqaluit. My first concern is about the Inuktitut programming. I will start with the negative comments and then I will mention some positive things. I have children both at GREC and Nakasuk schools. I appreciate the fact that my children are being taught Inuktitut, however I do not believe that they are being taught how to speak it well. They are losing it. For example, when I was going to school, I was taught to

speak English properly. It was taught to me through drill and proper grammar, and if I mispronounced certain words I was asked to repeat myself until I got it right. It seems to me that as long as it sounds like Inuktitut, it's good enough to the school. Another example is this: Mick Mallon teaches Inuktitut as a second language. His drills like "tuktumik takuvunga" - I don't call it learning to speak Inuktitut. I believe our children are being taught in that way. Although the children can read and write well in Inuktitut, they don't speak it well. Perhaps, having the children speak and practice good Inuktitut vocabulary will improve their speaking skills.

We have teachers in Iqaluit from many different communities. They don't observe what dialect is commonly used here, so they teach in their own dialect. For instance, if a teacher is from Pond Inlet, I'm sure that teacher doesn't get involved or associate with people from our community. No doubt there are people in this community who speak well in our dialect, but if we are going to have teachers from other communities, let them learn our dialect through involvement and visiting the people in our community. This has been my concern for a long time. Teachers allow children to speak improperly. For example, the child says 'kaiguk' instead of 'qaiguk'. The children are much better in their ability to read and write using the new standard writing system, whereas we are still using the old system. I support the work that's being done, however, it needs improvement. I am hopeful that the Inuktitut program will soon cover all the grades from 1 - 12. Thank you very much.

Andrew Ooyookoolook of Arctic Bay - *Andrew is a language and cultural skills instructor at Inuujaq School.*

When white teachers teach in their language, they teach with confidence and knowledge. Let the Inuk teacher do the same. The Inuktitut instruction should be all in Inuktitut with no mixing of languages. We must have good, strong Inuit models who have the ability to teach everything in Inuktitut.

Naki Ehko of Iqaluit - *Originally from Kingmilksoon in Cumberland Sound, Naki and her family have lived in Iqaluit since 1957. She is an active member of the Elders' Association, the Anglican Women's Group and was a Board Member of the Baffin Regional Hospital.*

Just a short comment. I am not directing it at the teachers. We look after our children's upbringing, and we teach them things at home. I am amazed at the teachers for their capabilities. It's the students who don't want to learn fully, and therefore, they are unable to complete their studies. When we were children, the way we were taught and learned was very different. Our parents and their parents taught us without school materials, no papers, and no written guidelines. We have applied what they've taught us and have maintained the skills. Our children today have very different attitudes and lack of drive in learning the skills. We didn't learn from school teachers. Our parents taught us through observation and role play (an observing and applying approach). If one is motivated to learn, the interest to learn will be there.

Meeka Arnakaq of Pangnirtung - *Meeka is a language instructor at Attagoyuk School. She is an active member of the Anglican Women's Group.*

First, I would like to make suggestions on what should be included in school programs. We are grateful to see more and more Inuit graduating as teachers. However, from what I've seen, I feel these new graduates need to develop more Inuktitut skills and gain more knowledge about their culture. They have good speaking and understanding skills, and we communicate with them, but they lack important cultural knowledge and skills. They need to understand the Inuit ways and values in more depth. Teacher training should include these Inuit cultural skills.

In observing their Inuktitut classrooms, I do not see the promotion or the emphasis of Inuit culture. I wonder if it is possible for the teachers to have older Inuit or elders, the experts in providing the knowledge of Inuktitut and Inuit ways, to assist them in their classrooms. We are not using our Inuit people as resources. For example, we hear people saying that Inuit elders do not teach us anymore about our culture and that is why we are forgetting our ways. But the fact is, time and time again, the elders bring up questions and issues, concerns and solutions. The answer that they get from the school is always, "Well, we have policies that we have to abide by." Because of such policies, the elders are prevented from the opportunity to participate in the school programs. This obstacle to elders' participation and involvement restricts our ability to make improvements in the senior Inuktitut programming. In addition, one of the biggest factors in all this is the lack of funds.

This meeting is very important in that we have different people gathered here, and many ideas

and concerns are being raised. Inuktitut education can work well if given the opportunity and a place in the schools. I think we must recognize our elders for their knowledge and expertise. We must also recognize that they can be good providers of Inuktitut. Inuktitut should be recognized as being equally as important as English throughout the schools. If this were so, Inuktitut materials would be in more abundance and readily available to teachers. If the schools adopted more Inuit values and beliefs, Inuit parents would become more supportive and they would encourage their children to continue in education. Finally, this would create better understanding and communication between teachers and parents.

Simon Anaviapik of Pond Inlet - *Anaviapik is one of the most respected elders from Pond Inlet. For many years, he worked as a cultural skills instructor in Takijualuk School. He has also helped many qallunaat to learn Inuktitut and Inuit ways. In 1978, he was awarded an honourary doctorate by Brock University for his services to science education in the Arctic.*

It's been several years since I've taught children in the school as a cultural teacher. This past winter, I was asked to assist with the school's cultural programs because their cultural inclusion program was no longer in existence due to lack of funds.

I never appreciate it when people show no consideration for the importance of Inuit culture. Until now, I've never had the opportunity to express this concern. The Inuit culture must be made to be part of the school curriculum. Our children must know many things because we live in a harsh environment that requires us to have good survival skills. There have been many incidents of young people getting lost on the land because they didn't know what they were to

do. If you know what to do on the land, you can't get lost. This type of concern must be dealt with.

Qilavaq Kooniliusie of Broughton Island - *Qilavaq has taught Inuktitut at Qikiqtarjuaq School for many years. She is also a member of the Broughton Island Education Council.*

I have been an Inuktitut teacher for the last ten years. And I have become more and more concerned about Inuktitut education. During these years, I have not seen any change or improvement in the instructors' preparation time or the number of periods we have to teach. We have only a half-hour for preparation, and no classrooms of our own. I share Meeka's concern about the lack of Inuit culture in the schools. And yes, Inuit elders have great knowledge which may not be written, but yet is there if we seek to use it in the school. I hope to see results about this matter after this conference.

Annie Nataaq of Iqaluit - *Annie is a housewife who is active in several groups and committees in Iqaluit.*

It is a great feeling to see Inuit gather together from different communities to talk about their views on Inuktitut education. Our ability to speak and write well in Inuktitut should always be important and be something to be proud of because we will always be Inuit. We cannot and will not change and become white people. I do not know too much what goes on in the schools but I trust the Inuit teachers to do their best. I've had children lose interest in school after we moved to Iqaluit. I've tried my best to keep them interested. They've had different reasons, such as

other girls hating them, boys showing too much interest in them, and being laughed at by other students because of their different dialect. It is very difficult to convince your children to appreciate or continue their schooling when such fears are the major cause of their not wanting to go to school.

As for Inuktitut programs -- yes, cultural skills should be well taught at the high school level. Students from different communities attend the high school in Iqaluit. This means that there is all the more reason to teach about the different styles of different communities.

Aksayook Etoangat of Pangnirtung - *Aksayook is a respected community leader in Pangnirtung. In the past, he has helped in the school's cultural inclusion program.*

Sometimes it saddens me to see Inuit men go hunting without their sons to help them. The children spend all day in school while their fathers are out hunting. We need to have more aspects of Inuit culture in our school programs.

Ragilee Arnaquq of Broughton Island - *Ragilee is a cultural skills teacher at Qikiqtarjuaq School.*

I am very happy to see this meeting take place. I do not know many words in English, so I've used my own children for interpreters on many occasions. If Inuktitut had been included when schools were first established, our children would not have had to lose so much. That has got us behind in many ways. Only today is Inuktitut being revived.

Joanasie Aningmiuq of Iqaluit - *Joanasie is a respected elder from Iqaluit. He is active in church affairs, the search and rescue organization and is Vice-Chairman of the Iqaluit Education Council.*

Inuktitut language is a real concern especially with our schools today. I have school-age children. The older ones cannot understand many of the Inuktitut words I use at home. My younger children, who have attended Nakasuk School since there, have been Inuit teachers there know more Inuktitut than my older children who didn't go through the Inuktitut stream.

It is good to see so many Inuit teachers now. However, they still need to learn more about Inuktitut. Furthermore, issues regarding the importance of Inuktitut have been raised throughout the North, but we have yet to see Inuktitut programs well established in our schools. Those of us who speak only Inuktitut are anxious to see this happen.

Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk of Kangiqsujuaq - *Mitiarjuk is a language instructor in Kangiqsujuaq, northern Quebec. She has written several books for the higher grade levels and these have been published by the Kativik School Board.*

It is important for young Inuit to have good knowledge of Inuktitut; it can aid them in their needs. They can cope with personal pressures when they're more stable in their culture.

Mary Wilman - *Mary is Chairperson of the Iqaluit Education Council. She has worked as a home management educator, classroom assistant, and now works as a personnel officer. She also regularly teaches Inuktitut to qallunaat.*

It is a great feeling to hear what the participants have to say. When I first went to school, I only knew Inuktitut. When you're starting to learn Inuktitut, your teacher becomes important to you. Her teaching style becomes convincingly important too.

I feel fortunate to have had strong parents who provided me with a strong up-bringing. A family sets rules and roles for the home, and that's the type of background I came from.

I find one comment made earlier about Inuit culture not being well established in the schools is very true. Sometimes it used to be confusing as a student when two values couldn't meet -- your parents' expectations and the school's. This is still one of the problems being faced by today's young people.

We will not have enough Inuit teachers for a while yet. So, in the meantime, many of the white teachers should make an effort to learn more about the Inuit culture and language. Many of them don't know anything about the home backgrounds of their students. When Inuit students drop out, the teachers don't usually have any idea or understanding of the cause of the student's leaving school.

Many young children in Iqaluit are kutattut (they don't pronounce their Inuktitut words properly) and many of them enter the school system already knowing English. We are too government and rule oriented. It is true that the elders are not recognized or respected by our schools. As a prime example, classroom assistants are hired according to their grade qualifications, not their ability in Inuktitut or their cultural knowledge. And we don't have enough Inuit teachers yet. I think that this will be the situation as long as we are controlled by the Government.

Children's language should be supported in both the school and the home. The school and the home should also support each other. I realize that the classroom assistants work hard, but many are not proficient enough in Inuktitut. The elders, who are proficient in Inuktitut and knowledgable about our culture, are not recognized because they do not know enough English. Perhaps this issue should be looked into more closely.

Oolootee Peter of Apex - *Oolootee is a cultural skills instructor at Nakasuk School where she has worked for twelve years.*

My name is Oolootee. I teach sewing at Nakasuk School. I enjoyed working with young Inuit students and I have been teaching them for a long time. The sewing program has been reduced from a full-time to a half-time program. We never have enough time to really do what we want to do because now it is difficult to teach thoroughly in a short time.

I have taken courses at the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program during the summer. I really enjoy this and I feel it helps me to understand, but as far as my job goes there is no

advancement -- no development of Inuktitut. I am only there because I don't want the students to lose the Inuit traditions.

Mary Peter - *Mary has worked as a language and cultural teacher in Apex and Iqaluit for many years. Recently, as leader of the Apex Church Women's Group, she has organized the building of a traditional Inuit qarmaq (house) which is used as a centre for the teaching of cultural skills to local children.*

At present I don't really have a job. I used to teach Inuktitut and I do substitute-teaching whenever the school needs me. I am also very concerned about our growing problem, the lack of development of Inuktitut programs. Even though I am not teaching now, I have continued to be involved with our schools through the education council.

I believe in education in general and I would especially like to see it benefit all children. I believe in different ways. People have different values. These differences make learning more interesting.

I support very strongly the idea of more emphasis on Inuktitut. If we have education only in English we will not understand other people's ways and values and our education will not be rich. Therefore, I would like to see more of our values and culture adopted in schools. We must not forget who we are, and our children must not forget where they come from, who they are and the important values and ways of the Inuit.

PART I

INUIT CONTROL OF INUIT EDUCATION

EDUCATION AND THE CIRCUMPOLAR NATIVISTIC MOVEMENT: TWENTY YEARS OF CHANGE FOR THE BETTER

Frank Darnell

Frank Darnell is a respected educator who has been involved in Alaskan education for the past four decades. In this paper, he provides a comprehensive review of the dramatic educational improvements that have taken place during the past twenty years in most circumpolar nations through the empowerment of indigenous peoples.

In this paper, I have endeavoured to relate developments in formal education during the past twenty years to efforts of the Native peoples of the Circumpolar North to assert their presence and promote their interests in northern education systems. Control of the policies and processes of education is seen as one of the means of advancing the nativistic movement now apparent throughout the North. These efforts and developments can be examined from two points of view:

(i) control of policy making processes in education -- the processes that are used to determine the fundamental nature of the school system, and

(ii) control of routine learning processes -- the activities and teaching strategies that go on in classrooms on a daily basis.

The purpose of this paper is to put the theme of this seminar -- the movement for Native control of Native education -- into historic perspective from both of these points of view.

Control of policy making processes in education, the first point of view, may properly be called the 'political dimension' of education. Political, as it is used here, is in the best sense of the

word. That is to say, political processes are derived from accepted democratic principles, and decisions are representative of the majority will of the people affected by the decisions. Therefore, the right to participate in determining the form, choosing the officials, making the regulations and carrying out the functions of education is invested in the people who constitute the system. It is here that goals of education are determined and measures or regulations deemed appropriate for reaching those goals are adopted. It is assumed that without control of the political dimension the likelihood of sought after cultural considerations finding their way into the education system is less than it would be otherwise.

The second point of view, routine learning processes, from which to examine developments and efforts of recent years, is seen as the 'operational dimension' of formal education. Ideally, it is here that the means by which policies set forth at the political level are determined and implemented on a routine basis. These are the practical things that must be done to accomplish the goals of the school system and carry out the policies of the people. It is in this dimension that such things as the content of the curriculum, scope and sequence of the curriculum, and selection of teaching strategies and instructional materials are decided. It is here that the appropriateness and quality of cultural considerations in the classroom are determined.

Historical Background of the Present Situation

Although great distances separate ethnic regions of the North and national boundaries impose limitations in the way people are able to relate to each other in their daily activities, there are more similarities in historical developments of education among the Native peoples of the Circumpolar North than differences. In all of the countries bordering on the Polar basin (excluding the U.S.S.R. which will not be considered in this paper), regardless of their historic

and political differences, similar patterns of Native movements for control of education, in both the policy and operational dimensions, may be observed. It may be argued that a review of the history of each group of Native peoples represented at this conference reveals similar problems and approaches to their solutions in the movements for local control and self-determination in education.

At the risk of over-generalization, I have grouped this movement into four basic periods common to all circumpolar nations:

(i) A period soon after contact with non-native societies accompanied by the introduction of western culture and a form of organized education, with teachers dedicated to strict adherence to narrow rules of behaviour and policies that required cultural substitution as the policy of the day. Characterized by the use of non-native languages of instruction and alien content of curriculum, there was little or no attempt to understand or appreciate Native cultures. The U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1910 said of Alaskan education: "... the teachers are in reality ... moulding the future development of Native villages and the race by their guidance in all phases of life, in the school room, industrial room, kitchen, bathroom, home and herd." In general, this period was marked by passive acceptance of what was being taught and how it was being taught with few overt objections by Native groups. Typically, the first teachers were missionaries who, in turn, were followed by central government teachers. Depending on the history of the country (or regions within countries) and the year in which formal Western education was introduced, this period varied considerably in length; in some cases it exceeded 200 years and in others it lasted no longer than twenty. But the most striking observation that can be made about the first period, regardless of length of time it lasted, is that it started to come to a close simultaneously throughout the entire Circumpolar North during the 1950s.

(ii) In the 1950s, especially during the latter part of the decade, occasional statements of discontent with the content and methodology of education marked the beginning of the second period. Dissatisfaction with the education system was being expressed by scattered Native groups, although seldom was much attention given to them by non-native school authorities. However, this period, which was to last no more than ten years, was characterized by heightened awareness of a need for change and increasingly the content and methodology of formal education were questioned. These questions notwithstanding, centralized governments were able to set aside complaints and for the most part successfully defended their approach to schooling, an approach which allowed for little or no advice or consent from Native populations. With but few exceptions, non-natives made all of the major decisions affecting educational policies in all of the countries that encircle the polar basin.

(iii) The third period, which commenced during the mid to late 1960s, twenty years ago, also was to last about ten years. This period saw the beginning of substantial assertiveness of Native groups and their rejections of what was perceived as the inappropriateness of several aspects of education programs then being provided. In each of the circumpolar countries, Native organizations, constituted by the people themselves, which acted either to acquire political influence in education policy making or to develop Native oriented education programs, or both, were formed. In some instances efforts by Native groups were joined by a growing number of academicians, whose studies of schooling in northern societies documented what Natives were learning through experience. In particular, findings of scholarly work at the University of Oslo, The Institute of Eskimology at the University of Copenhagen, McGill University in Montreal, the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon and the University of Alaska at Fairbanks supported the position of Native groups advocating school reform. Government agencies charged with the responsibility of education were no longer able to defend their programs and practices. Some agencies began looking for

positive ways to respond to declared Native needs, others for ways to postpone Native control, sometimes through contrived ways to make it appear as though they were giving way, even as it became increasingly clear that change was inevitable. It was at the close of the critical third period that two basic, conflicting points of view emerged as the most vexing problem of the day and protagonists for each position grew increasingly polarized. In short, the dilemma revolved around the classic issue of whether formal education, that is, schooling, should strive for cultural continuity or cultural replacement. Cultural replacement was generally favoured by those who tended towards Westernized development of resources in the North. The key component to incorporate hitherto isolated peoples into Western society was seen as mass education that contained programs in content and methods similar to broad national programs. Cultural continuity was generally favoured by those concerned with community improvement on a local, traditional basis in which Native languages and culture in the classroom were favoured (Vallee, Smith and Cooper, 1984, p.672). This debate was not necessarily drawn along Native -- non-native lines; arguments for and against each position were advanced by protagonists for a particular point of view regardless of ethnic group membership.

(iv) In the mid 1970s, the fourth period, the one in which we now find ourselves, emerged. While far from perfect, it is characterized by attainment of a variety of forms of educational self-determination, in both the political and operational dimensions, by Native peoples in all of the circumpolar countries (except the U.S.S.R.). It is also characterized by governmental awareness of Native needs and in some cases by cooperative programs in the development of Native education. Examples of Native self-determination in each major area of the Circumpolar North that characterize this period are given below. Indeed, this seminar itself characterizes the current period.

Control of Policy Making -- The Political Dimension

A source of discontent with formal education from the beginning was that as western society moved into the North, education programs were developed on the premise that members of western society knew what was best for indigenous minority people. The concept of "cultural replacement", in one of a variety of forms, was the prevailing reason given for initiating most programs. Seldom had alternatives to this reason been considered by mission or government authorities, although it must be pointed out that from the earliest historic times exceptions to this view were expressed off and on and notable instances of extraordinary ideas that favoured Native needs can be found in each country. But for the most part, as recently as twenty years ago, educational policies were designed primarily to accommodate the language, cultural values, economic systems, and general interests of the dominant group from the South. This is no longer entirely so; striking examples of changes for the better in the political dimension may now be observed. I have selected a few instances to illustrate this conclusion and start with two cases from Alaska, followed by examples from Canada, Greenland and Scandinavia.

Twenty years ago there were 175 villages with centrally administered schools primarily for Alaska's Native population in a dual State - Federal system of education. Located throughout non urban Alaska, these schools served Alaska's rural Native population. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) schools were to be found at 75 locations, while the Alaska State Department of Education administered schools at 100 sites. By 1975 there were no longer any centrally administered State schools and in 1985, after a fifty-four year presence in Alaskan education, the last B.I.A. school was transferred to a local, predominantly Native school district. Now there are twenty-three local school districts encompassing all former B.I.A. and State operated schools. As the result of legislation enacted in 1975 each of twenty-three rural, locally elected school boards is empowered

by state law to make the decisions necessary to operate schools at the village level. School board members in these twenty-three rural districts by and large come from the local Native population. This vivid change has come about because of a number of factors, but the most pervasive of them was the Alaska nativistic movement at the political level.

A legal provision that secondary education may be offered and financially supported in even the smallest and remotest of villages is another Alaskan development in the political dimension initiated through the nativistic movement. Secondary education requires teachers with specialized knowledge and special facilities. To meet these needs rural Native pupils for decades had been sent to boarding facilities, both inside and outside of Alaska, to attend large, conventional secondary schools, typically far from village life. Although some of these secondary schools still exist, they are options only. In 1976, an out of court settlement of a suit brought against the State Department of Education by Native plaintiffs provided that the governing body of a school district shall provide village secondary schools if requested. Thus, secondary students may not be required to live away from the local, culturally compatible community in which he or she resides in order to obtain an education. Even if only one child of high school age resides in a village the requirement stands, should local residents so choose. The court order leading to this development was the result of action by Native plaintiffs bringing a suit in which it was contended that predominantly non-native communities were provided with secondary programs while predominantly Native communities were not. This implied a practice of racial discrimination which unduly burdened the access of Native village residents of high school age to an education. As in the case of establishing rural, predominantly Native school districts, it was the Alaskan nativistic movement that was the stimulus for change in secondary education.

The political dimension in Canada has undergone several changes during the past twenty years or so. Although to a lesser extent than in Alaska, some changes have enhanced the Native self-determination movement and local control of schooling. It was in 1962 that this trend began, with creation of the Northwest Territories riding, which provided for the entire territorial population to be represented in the federal government rather than just the southern and western parts. But it was the period 1965-75 that saw significant political changes in the government of the Northwest Territories, such as increased number of representatives in the Territorial Assembly, more equitable distribution of constituency district membership and elected rather than appointed Assembly members. Some government functions were retained by the Federal Government, but in 1969-70, education, always one of the most controversial of government services, was put under the jurisdiction of the new Territorial government. The federal system of education was transferred to the Department of Education within the newly created Government of the Northwest Territories. As potentially promising as this development seemed at the time, little in the way of substantial education change took place at first. "The system that emerged was essentially a copy of the typical school system that was found elsewhere in Canada. The imposition of this foreign system reduced the likelihood that the school could truly serve the needs of the communities" (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1982, p.1).

Although there was increased Inuit participation in political activities during this period, and "... it was during the 1970s that the organizational capacity of the Inuit assumed national dimensions" (Vallee, Smith and Cooper 1984, p.670), it was not until 1979 that there was a shift from Euro-Canadians acting as mediators between the Inuit and the larger society in favour of the Inuit acting as their own mediators (Vallee 1981, p.16). While these political developments are not all specifically related to education, during this period, education issues were at the forefront of

debate. And it was during this period that effective and respected Native organizations, such as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) and the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) came into existence. It was at the close of this decade that ITC set forth its Nunavut proposal, a concept with many implications for local control of education. Thus, improvements in education, derived from local control only now coming into their own, had their genesis in broader improvements in political organization a decade earlier.

The most notable change for the better in the political dimension in the Canadian North came about in 1982 with publication of the report of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories' Special Committee on Education, Learning Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories. The Committee recommended that "The Minister of Education shall delegate the administration of education from Kindergarten to Grade 10 (K10) to ten divisional boards of education ... [and] The direct administration of schools in the Northwest Territories shall be transferred from the Department of Education to the divisional boards of education" (1982, p.19). The first of the ten autonomous school boards was initiated as the Baffin Divisional Board of Education in April of 1985, with the site of this seminar, Iqaluit, chosen as its administrative centre. Since then two additional Divisional Boards of Education have been created, one in the Kitikmeot region and one in the Keewatin district. Also, territorial legislation now provides for more specific local education authorities, including committees and boards. Local decisions affecting Inuit education can be made by these groups, although some of their activities are only advisory.

Forty-seven other recommendations dealing with such diverse subjects as language programs, education of adults, the teaching staff and school programs as well as administration were

included in the 1982 report. But much of the work required to fully implement the recommendations remains to be done and many individuals are concerned that the processes of their implementation have been inadequate and too slow. Nevertheless, the report of 1982 remains a major step forward. And, not unlike the advent of rural, local school districts in Alaska, much of the movement that led to the issuance of the report grew out of the Northern Nativistic Movement. As a consequence, many of the choices that must be made to bring about the sought for changes, increasingly, are being made by the people themselves.

In any review of education among Canadian Inuit, advances in Native control of education in Arctic Quebec should not go unnoticed. The school board of the Kativik School District, in many respects, is showing the way to assume responsibility of education programs. Likewise, recent developments in the Yukon Territory need to be included in this paper, especially since Territorial officials are now at work looking for ways that will enhance Native influence in the direction Territorial education programs may take in the future. As pointed out elsewhere in the papers of this seminar, the Yukon Territory is a relative newcomer to the field of Native control of education. But the Yukon Government is presently developing a joint Commission on Indian Education and Training and in 1987 an Education Act Task Force was created to review the entire Territorial education program with the view that there is a need to restructure the system to reflect Native needs. This seminar marks the first time that Yukon officials have participated in an international seminar on education among the peoples of the Circumpolar North.

Greenland has a much longer history of Native interests in education than either Canada or Alaska. But one notable event in the 1970s overshadows all the rest. Passage of the Home Rule Act, on November 29, 1978, which provided for the replacement of the Provincial Council by a

popularly elected assembly, opened the way for many locally controlled activities, not the least of which was substantial control of education. In 1980 authority over education was transferred from Denmark to the Home Rule government in Nuuk and legislation favouring Greenlandic as a topic of study and language of instruction was passed by the Greenland Parliament. Today the schools are locally controlled through municipal bodies, but under authority of the Home Rule Government's Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs. The Greenlandic language is defined as the principal language of the administration, although the Home Rule Act still provides that "... Danish must be thoroughly taught. Either language may be used for official purposes."

The indigenous people of northern Scandinavia, the Saami, constitute an ethnic group that is distributed over a wide area of northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of the U.S.S.R. The exact number of Saami people is unknown, but estimates run between 50,000 and 100,000, with the largest population located in Norway. Although the Saami people have been recognized through international treaties and in some laws pertaining to reindeer breeding and education, they are not constitutionally acknowledged in their respective countries. They represent only a small percentage of the total population of the countries of which they are a part. I make mention of these facts to illustrate how difficult it has been to achieve major political advances in education such as those in Alaska, Canada and Greenland described above. However, through the efforts of groups such as the Saami Institute, laws favouring Saami culture, language and teachers have indeed been enacted over the past twenty years and evidence of progress in the political dimension may be observed. Spread across four international boundaries, however, the process of advancing Saami interests is more complex than elsewhere in the Circumpolar North. But there has been progress of a special kind, best described by Jan Henry Keskitalo:

> The conceptualization of equality in terms of rights and in terms of humanitarian values is accepted by the Governments of the nordic countries. But in the case of education, as well as other sectors of Federal interest, it has been a long process, indeed a long battle, for these ideas to be put into practice ... Today, it is, in principle, possible to allow the local society to be more and more the basis and the field of learning. Though not caused by specific Saami needs, there has been a movement, a change in the philosophy of education, and a change in the focus of power for defining ideas; these make it easier to promote necessary innovations in Saami education. Based on this view, one could characterize the educational system, at least its intention, as a natural part of different societies (Keskitalo, 1986, p.15).

But because of hidden subsystems in the education system, this principle notwithstanding, and despite instances of favourable legislation, Keskitalo points out that there are problems associated with the way it is implemented.

More recently the Saami Education Council in Norway has been developing principles that address the need for new education policies for Saami education. This work coincides with efforts to widen educational innovation at the national level and thus affords an opportunity to advance Saami interests. In this regard the Saami Education Council has formulated two basic statements: (i) "the school must give the new generation of Saamis possibilities to take an active part in societal interaction and (ii) at the same time and as part of [societal interaction], the school must give the Saamis the possibility both to conserve and further create their ethnic and cultural identity" (Keskitalo, 1986, p.18).

The Operational Dimension - Control of Routine Learning Processes

The operational dimension covers several topics - bilingual education, cross-cultural teacher education for non-native teachers, training of indigenous peoples as teachers, Native cultural content in the curriculum and provision of secondary education closer to home. Many examples of effective and promising programs in each of these areas of formal education can be cited. I list only a few to illustrate the kinds of programs now found throughout the North that did not exist a generation ago.

The Alaska Native Language Program, the Alaska Native Studies Programs and the cross-cultural teacher education program for field-based teacher training of village residents are all long standing, effective programs at the University of Alaska. Several local, rural school districts in Alaska now have curriculum and materials development programs that stress characteristics of local cultures in everyday school activities.

Many of the recommendations of the Canadian report, Learning Tradition and Change, speak to eventual implementation of such programs in many aspects of formal education. Also in Canada, the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, in cooperation with McGill University and supported in part with a major grant from the Donner Canadian Foundation, has more than fifty graduates at work throughout the school system. Now in its eighth year, this field-based program has become well established and is attracting international attention (Wilman 1986).

In Greenland, where there has been a teacher training college for Greenlanders since 1845, there has been continual updating of the program. In 1979 the present training program, based on the national higher preparatory examination, was re-designed to provide better adjustment to the

needs of the Greenlandic population (Egede, 1986, p.29). And in 1984 the Inuit Institute (Ilisimatusarfik) at Nuuk was established. Inuit languages and culture, social sciences and Greenlandic subjects are taught. Research at the Institute has specialized in developing a Greenlandic dictionary with reference to Danish, English and other dialects of Inuktitut.

Greenlandic is the first language in the schools of Greenland, but because many teachers still come from Denmark, Danish often becomes the language of instruction. Although it will be several years before all teachers are Greenlandic speakers, this situation is changing; in 1985 three hundred and fifty teachers out of a teaching force of nine hundred and fifty had been trained in Greenland and are Greenlandic speakers (Egede, 1986, p.25).

There has been some form of schooling among the Saami since 1619, but it has been during the last twenty-five years that the greatest amount of progress has been made. Still, there are fewer examples in the operational dimension to report from Scandinavia than elsewhere. However, substantial progress is being made in some areas. In particular, the Saami teacher training unit of the teachers' college at Alta is drawing widespread and favourable attention. Education in the Saami language has been an issue for many years and instructional materials reflecting the Saami language and culture are now available, although there are certain limitations and restrictions on their use. Nevertheless, and even though, the Saami language has no official status as an official language; under certain conditions, Saamis have the right to be taught in their own language.

To conclude this address I would like to recount those broad, general concepts and developments that have emerged from the experiences cited above and draw attention to those things that will continue to require efforts at improvement.

When formal Western education was first introduced in the North, questions relating to school policies and programs and their implementation were usually answered without the involvement or consent of the people they were intended to influence. Western style education was seen as a commodity to be delivered for the well-being of all, but seldom was thought given to the possibility of relating programs of education to northern life-styles, life-styles that were little understood and seldom appreciated even as recently as twenty years ago. No longer is this the case; policies of assimilation, intended to remake Native peoples in the image of dominant Western societies without their consent, or worse yet without their awareness of what was being attempted, are now extinguished in most sectors of the North.

Experiences in northern Native education where local control has been implemented have reaffirmed what has been described elsewhere in the world, namely, that "education is more vital and healthy when it is kept close to the needs of the people and when they feel they have a genuine stake in educational institutions of their own making and for which they have a large measure of responsibility" (Butts, 1954, p.4). Thus, we have learned that one of the most important considerations as new policy and program choices are made is that the education received by Native residents should correspond to their needs, interests, norms and values. We have learned that to be ignorant of or to fail to sufficiently take into account the social and cultural context of the people that education systems are intended to serve can have negative, unplanned consequences.

We have learned that what happens at home, in the community and at school have too often been unrelated, but increasingly these two elements -- community and school -- are being brought together. We have learned that bilingual programs enhance learning in both the first and second

languages and make schooling a less intimidating experience. And we have learned that no matter how well designed the policies and how many new technological advances and instructional materials are brought to the classroom, the ultimate success of school depends in large measure on the background, sensitivity and preparedness of everyday classroom teachers and upon the partnership established between these teachers and the people of the community whose children attend their classrooms.

But stressing positive concepts and developments is not to deny that there have been failures during the past two decades, nor is it to say that there is little left to be done. There are insufficient numbers of Native teachers, insufficient numbers of Native language programs and inadequate secondary and adult education programs in the local setting. To overcome shortcomings in regions where improvements are still needed, the authority to make decisions at the local level must be made commensurate with the level of decisions required. However, although most everyone agrees that local control is an essential condition for improved education, it is not necessarily a sufficient condition; questions remain about what may be best to do and how best to do what we know must be done. New ideas still need to be set forth, probed, debated and if found worthwhile, disseminated and implemented. Finding new solutions requires the efforts of all parties concerned -- Native patrons and pupils of the schools, school staffs (especially teachers), government agency personnel given social and educational program responsibility and academicians studying schools systems and the effects of schooling on individuals and society.

It remains, however, that along with the notable improvements reported in this paper, the most complex and vexing problem of twenty years ago continues to be the problem that was identified when the movement for self-determination got under way. It is the problem that grows out of

the requirement that schools are expected to offer programs that stress local resources, values and culture while simultaneously they are expected to offer programs that will enable students to cope with the reality of expanding worldwide contact with outside influences, Western economic systems and modern technology. At times it is contended that education should be provided for those who will chose to remain in their village or settlement to enable them to follow a traditional life style, while at other times it is contended that education should provide for those who choose to leave the local setting to follow other pursuits, essentially outside of their traditional culture.

It may be argued, however, that there does not need to be an either-or choice; knowledge of and respect for Native culture need not limit knowledge of and use of ideas and materials from other cultures, nor should being functional in and having knowledge of the larger world community infer denial of the worth of knowledge in local cultural ways. The potential to relate the two conditions in learning situations may be one of the most promising outcomes of eventual Native local control of education, if those in control are able and willing to bring all the resources of modern education to bear on their programs.

A recent theory of intercultural education "... proposes the simple thesis that each human being ought to be introduced simultaneously to two cultures: the one of which he is a part because he was born into a certain cultural grouping ..., the other of which he is a part of because he is a member of the human race." (Walsh, 1973, p.3). The author of this idea, John E. Walsh, goes on to say:

> The point is simply that each person is born into a particular cultural heritage and historical tradition. There is no such thing as cultural neutrality or indifference. Technology inescapably has a profound effect on cultural patterns. There is no turning back once technology

> has been introduced, but different cultures will accept or reject it in different ways and for different reasons. Whether his culture is closed, traditional and logical ... or open, free and innovative ... each person should know fully the principles upon which his culture rests. Only then will he know how to evaluate it and how to improve it, what judgements to make relative to other cultures, and whether to stay within it or move apart from it (1973, p. 5).

This concept notwithstanding, today, as twenty years ago, answers to the questions of how much emphasis should be placed on those education programs that contribute to cultural continuity and how much emphasis should be placed on programs that lead to cultural replacement are uncertain. But now when these questions are raised, there is one important difference between the present and twenty years ago: the search to find the best answers is being carried on by the Native peoples themselves, a condition that simply did not exist until recently.

It is now recognized that among the best ways for schools to meet the changing technological and social needs of a people as well as contribute to the preservation of the traditional social and cultural elements of a people, is through the concerted effort and involvement of the people themselves who are served by those schools. It is this concept that gave rise to school improvement movements throughout the Circumpolar North twenty years ago. It is this concept that holds some of the most promise for continued improvement in education over the next twenty years.

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INUIT CONTROL OF INUIT EDUCATION

Mary Simon

Mary Simon is President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC). As an internationally recognized Inuit politician, Mary was invited to give the keynote address at the Seminar and to discuss the ICC's policy and principles for Inuit education.

First I would like to thank the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Minister of Education, Dennis Patterson, for hosting this circumpolar conference.

The topic that I have been asked to address refers to the theme of this Conference, Inuit Control of Inuit Education. Education in the broadest sense, which includes communications, has a critical role to play in the survival and further development of our culture and language. Therefore, we as Inuit must not only participate in our northern system of education, but be able to profoundly influence its policies and priorities. Through Inuit control of education, we must responsibly shape its content and direction.

If Inuit control of education is used to advance the sound development of our northern regions, we will at the same time strengthen the Arctic-rim nation-states of which we are a part. We are convinced that the most significant contributions we can make to our respective countries are based on our own aboriginal perspectives and values, and not through cultural assimilation.

With this view in mind, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) has been working on the development of comprehensive policy principles on a wide range of issues relevant to the North. We have completed Arctic policy principles in a number of areas and these were approved by the Inuit delegates at the July 1986, ICC General Assembly in Kotzebue, Alaska.

The completed work includes principles relating to Education, Employment and Training, and Inuit Youth. Copies of these principles are available here at the Conference. We are pleased that school boards such at the Kativik School Board in northern Quebec are incorporating in their regional policy development the educational policy principles prepared by the ICC.

Today, I will briefly cover two areas: first, the principal elements required for beneficial Inuit control of Inuit education; and second, the basic values that an Inuit-controlled education system should promote.

Principal Elements for Beneficial Inuit Control of Inuit Education

It is useful to first distinguish the right to education from the right to control one's education. The right to education may guarantee us access to an education system. However, it alone might not enable us to ensure that our children's education is culturally appropriate or that it is relevant to the North.

Most countries would readily acknowledge the right of all people to an education. This right is recognized in a number of international instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26). However, these instruments appear to be silent on the specific question of educational control.

In the United States, the issue of control has been determined in favour of Aboriginal peoples. In the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, Congress has declared that:

> ... true self-determination in any society of people is dependent upon an educational process which will insure the development of qualified people to fulfil meaningful leadership roles.

The Act further provides that prolonged federal domination of service programs to Aboriginal peoples has served to deprive them of "the full opportunity to develop leadership skills crucial to the realization of self-government."

Government and Inuit alike must work together to permanently alter this relationship of dependency and domination. Inuit control of Inuit education should go well beyond the creation of parents' committees. It must allow us as a people to bring about meaningful change in a manner that upholds the principles of self-government.

In addition to adequate powers of jurisdiction, I would propose that the following elements may be essential if Inuit are to achieve control over education so as to clearly benefit Arctic communities and regions:

(i) Comprehensive policy development. An efficient school board is simply not enough. The establishment of innovative educational policies, relevant to the North and appropriate to its needs and priorities, must be a central focal point. In this regard, the N.W.T. report, Learning: Tradition and Change and the ICC Draft Principles Regarding Education should prove helpful.

(ii) Adequate funding. Proper exercise of education powers is highly dependent on the availability of sufficient financial resources. This is especially critical in the area of curriculum development, where materials relative to Inuit history and culture and to the Arctic are sorely lacking.

(iii) Flexible system of education. It is important that northern education systems be able to adapt to changing circumstances in circumpolar regions. Within such a framework, students should be taught the attitudes, skills and knowledge necessary to achieve success both in the subsistence and wage economies.

(iv) Parent and community involvement. Learning must be encouraged both in and outside the classroom. Parents and community organizations should take a more active role in sharing their experiences and instilling the values of education in young people. Also, on the job training and radio and television should be used to promote lifelong learning among all age groups.

(v) Appropriate teacher training. As indicated in the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, entitled Our Common Future, "attitudes of teachers will be key in increasing understanding of the environment and its links with development." Native and non-native teacher training poses a real challenge in view of the increasing number of complex issues affecting our northern territories.

The eventual success of an Inuit-controlled education system may at least in part be measured by its ability to reinforce the cultural identity of its students, the number of leaders and skilled persons it generates who assume a useful role in the various sectors of northern society, and the degree to which premature school leaving can be reduced or eliminated.

Basic Values Worth Promoting as Part of Northern Education

Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that education should strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It should promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and further world peace.

It is our understanding that, earlier this year, six provinces in Canada approved a trial project for human rights education in the classroom. As indicated in the ICC Draft Principles on Inuit Youth, our organization strongly supports such measures. We believe that human rights and other social and ethical values should be reinforced in pupils, beginning at an early age. In relation to environmental values and world peace and security, the ICC endorses the teaching of school children about the dangers of nuclear war. Generally, we feel that issues such as Arctic militarization should be discussed and analyzed within the northern education system. We also believe that Inuit values concerning an arms build-up and the use of nuclear technology within our circumpolar homeland should be respected.

Conclusion

I hope that I have provided the Conference participants here today with some insights as to how we view the issue of Inuit control of education. If educational opportunities for Inuit are to be realized to the fullest extent, I would urge that the principle of Inuit control be recognized as a key aspect.

Consistent with the principles of self-reliance and self-government, we must have the right as aboriginal peoples to shape education perspectives and priorities within our own homeland. In this regard, culturally appropriate policies, adequate human and financial resources, and a long-

term commitment to quality education will be vital. Further, I would suggest that the issue of Inuit control of education in the Arctic not be defined in narrow terms. Although it is beyond the scope of my talk here today, additional education-related areas should also be carefully examined so as to enhance both Inuit involvement and control. These additional areas include northern research, Inuit archaeological and other cultural property, and northern communications.

Cooperative initiatives towards responsive and relevant northern education systems, with adequate Inuit control, pose difficult but crucial challenges. These stimulating challenges are worth every effort. For the degree of success of our education system will be like an arctic barometer, a barometer that measures our abilities to respond to the issues we face. It will also reflect our potential for positive growth and development as a distinct and well-informed people.

All of our goals and aspirations are in some way intimately tied to education: for ourselves, our children and future generations. Let us all respond to Inuit education issues with the dedication and emphasis they deserve.

NORTHERN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE YUKON CONTEXT

Kirk Cameron

Kirk Cameron of the Yukon Department of Education sketches an outline of educational developments in the Yukon and takes a look at possible future developments.

Background

The Yukon is quite distinct in its demographics, its political structure and its geography from the Northwest Territories, Alaska and many of the other nations which are represented at this Seminar. These differences affect the issues that face the Yukon in general, and specifically those faced by its education system.

The Yukon has a population of approximately 27,000 people. Some 18,000 of these live in the capital, Whitehorse. The aboriginal peoples of the Yukon represent approximately 20% of the population. There are no Inuit in the Territory. There are twelve Indian bands which are represented by an assembly of chiefs called the Council for Yukon Indians (CYI). Several Aboriginal languages are spoken, including Southern Tutchone, Northern Tutchone and Loucheux. In addition, some Aboriginal languages have several dialects.

Another distinguishing feature of the Territory is that all but one of its communities are served by a road system which links the Yukon with southern Canada through Alberta and British Columbia, with its western neighbour, Alaska, and with the Mackenzie Delta region of the NWT.

These distinctions have had an immense impact on the way in which the society of the Yukon has evolved over the past 100 years.

The education system is administered through the Department of Education in Whitehorse. There are twenty-six schools in the Yukon. Student enrolments vary from 10 - 1000 students. The overall enrolment is approximately 4700 students. No school boards have been established, though the option is allowed for through the School Act. All but one of the schools has a school committee which acts in an advisory capacity to the principal, the regional superintendent and the superintendent of education for the Territory.

In all cases the schools of the Territory have Native and non-native students. Depending on the community and the school, the ratio of Native to non-native students can vary considerably. This provides a considerable challenge which I will address later when discussing options for greater community control and involvement in education.

Local Control Today

The Yukon Government is at an important stage in the development of the Joint Commission on Indian Education and Training, established by CYI and the Yukon Government in September 1986, and of an Education Act Task Force established in February 1987. The Government is undertaking a comprehensive review of education in the Territory.

The central topic discussed by Native and non-native Yukon residents during public meetings of these bodies has been that of control over their educational system. The findings of the Joint Commission and the Task Force are expected in September or October 1987. From these, the

Government intends to develop a blueprint for the future of education in the Yukon Territory.

This comprehensive review is timely. The Government of Canada recently agreed to the continuation of negotiations with the Yukon's Native people over comprehensive land claims. Though the issues of land, resource management, and financial settlement are central to these discussions, education is of critical importance among the many topics under negotiation. The outcome of the claims negotiations will have a monumental effect on the future of the educational system in the Yukon.

The complexity of the issue at hand cannot be down played. The Yukon school system is based on the concept of a single administration which does not provide separate educational programs for Native and non-native Yukoners. Within this single structure, special courses, such as Native language programs and culturally sensitive materials, are developed and incorporated into the curriculum. Though I do not wish to predict the outcome of the claims negotiations or the outcome of the Government's endeavours to develop a comprehensive set of directions for education in the Yukon, it would appear from the comments made by private individuals and various Yukon Indian Bands to the Joint Commission and the Education Act Task Force, that the outcome will be some restructuring of the present education system. This restructuring should ensure that the interests of the Yukon's rural communities and the Yukon's Native peoples will have a direct influence on the schools and the education system within which their children are taught.

The question now is what will that new system look like. Directly and inextricably associated with this is the question of what sort of system will best serve the interests not only of Native

but also non-native students in the Yukon. These are the questions that underlie the period of educational change now faced by Yukon society. It is a critical time, yet a fascinating one. The experiences of those nations represented at this Circumpolar Education Seminar, many having dealt with similar discussions and subsequent changes in their systems, are of benefit to the Yukon. It is to those various experiences that we will look for models of change that are successful in meeting the goals of a society that is fundamentally interested in the well-being of its rich cultural diversity. Though the Yukon is different in many ways from the Baffin or the Keewatin regions, the same sensitivities to the linguistic and cultural heritage of the various peoples of the region, which are of critical importance to education in the NWT, must be a part of the thinking which leads to the social and educational changes soon to take place in the Yukon.

COMMUNITY CONTROL IN NATIVE EDUCATION
A SENSE OF OWNERSHIP, RESPONSIBILITY AND COMMITMENT

David Serkoak

David Serkoak is an Inuk educator from the Keewatin Region of the N.W.T. He has worked as a classroom assistant, teacher, vice-principal and principal in Eskimo Point where he now teaches. In addition, he has taught a number of courses at the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, and has developed a range of Inuktitut teaching materials.

In this paper I will examine why community control is the optimal goal to strive for in Native education, what avenues are open for Native people to become involved in the education system of the N.W.T. and how, from my perspective, these avenues are or are not helping us achieve our goal.

Education in its broadest sense is a responsibility shared by various agencies and institutions in the community: the home, the school, the church, continuing education, media, recreational organizations, cultural organizations and others. For the purposes of this address, I will be speaking primarily about the main educational agency, the school. In my roles as a student, parent, teacher and administrator, this is the institution with which I have had the most direct experience.

References to the terms "community schools", "community involvement", "local involvement", and "consultation with the local education authority" are often found in publications of the N.W.T. Department of Education. In theory, at least, educational planners and educators espouse community control as the way to go. Here are a few examples:

> Good pedagogy tells us that as an individual and as a member of a particular ethnic or cultural group, the student functions best if full use is made of the traditions and experiences which are integral to home and family, and therefore to student well-being (GNWT Education 1978).
>
> In planning the school program for an education district, the school principals of the district and the Superintendent for that district shall be guided by the voters of the district as expressed by the local education authority (GNWT Education 1977).
>
> The school staff shall utilize aspects of the local cultures in the curriculum, curriculum material and teaching methods of the schools, and the principal shall consult with and be guided by the local education authority in planning such utilizations (GNWT Education 1977).
>
> Involvement of community should be considered as fundamental to the planning and implementation of any bilingual program. The greater the degree of involvement of community members in the school and the programs, then the greater will be the degree of understanding of and support for the program selected and presented (GNWT Education, 1981).
>
> There must be flexibility for local input into the program. The responsibility for defining and controlling the part Social Studies plays in the school and in the community must be shared among teachers, parents, students and communities. Furthermore, local input is not limited to the inclusion of symbols or tokens of the communities' culture, but must incorporate the realities those symbols represent. Local input includes local involvement in defining the basic values, attitudes and goals underlying Social Studies teaching and learning (GNWT Education 1979).

In practice, however, there are many factors which jeopardize swift and steady progress towards this ideal. In the meantime, the quality of the education of many children is being compromised as the gap between the younger and older generations widens, as does the gulf between the home and school.

To me, community control has to come both from Native people working within the system, and from the community at large working to change the system from without. When people are informed and aware about something, they can make good choices and give sound direction. When they are given an opportunity to contribute meaningfully to something they feel a part of, and when they are given responsibility for something, they become committed to making it work.

Working from Within the School System

Native teachers, classroom assistants and other teaching personnel can better relate to the community, can more readily be accepted by the community, can communicate meaningfully with their students in their mother-tongue, can better understand the learning styles and the needs of Native students, can provide good role models for their students; and can be most sensitive to cultural characteristics and contexts. All of these factors contribute to a learning environment that provides emotional security and facilitates Native students' academic achievement.

At the same time, those outside the school system, the local education authority and the people they represent must be informed about the school's programs; what is being taught, why and how. They must also be told what is not being taught. Local people should be an integral part of the school's programs, enriching them with their expertise and, through their involvement, gaining an understanding of the school's organization.

The Native Student

The students who attend our schools, for whose achievement and success we all hope, like students everywhere have very little, if any, control over their own schooling. They are at the mercy of the teachers, the programs, and the system in which they are enrolled. But perhaps they have the greatest potential to be ambassadors in the developments of the ideal school.

When educators design their learning activities so that they reach out from the school into the community environment through activities such as taped interviews of oral histories, genealogical studies, debates and reading their stories on the radio, students are encouraged not only to learn more about their cultural group but also to help bridge the cultural and generation gap between young and old. In the process of reaching out to learn, students can do much to make the community more aware of school programs.

The Classroom Assistant

In the past, classroom assistants have been called upon to develop Native language programs. This involvement and control was given to the classroom assistants solely because Native language instruction was needed and because some sort of program was needed to fill the gap. However, the Department of Education was preoccupied with the development of curriculum in other subject areas. Native language curriculum development was not a top priority in terms of personnel or funding.

Unfortunately, classroom assistants did not have the necessary training or expertise in curriculum development or in linguistics to handle such a responsibility effectively. It is mainly for this

reason that Native language programs to date have not achieved the success that we all have hoped for.

Classroom assistants are still required to produce many of the learning materials needed to implement Native language programs. More capable classroom assistants are able to use this involvement in programming to develop relevant and effective materials tailored to meet the needs of their students. But for less experienced classroom assistants this can be an overwhelming responsibility and burden. They require guidance and assistance in this area.

No matter what the capabilities of a classroom assistant, the level of their control and influence within the classroom largely depends upon the supervising teacher to whom they are assigned. This may be a new person every year. How much experience that teacher has in working with classroom assistants; how secure and competent that teacher feels in his or her teaching assignment; how willing that teacher is to give extra time and assistance to helping the classroom assistant develop new skills and build on their strengths, are all factors which influence the effectiveness of the classroom assistant's work.

Many of our Inuit teachers today were once capable classroom assistants who developed their skills with the encouragement and guidance of cooperating teachers, but the system as it stands does not guarantee that every classroom assistant will receive such an opportunity to become involved in this way.

The Native Teacher

Upon graduation Native teachers can be assured that they will be master in their own classrooms. What they are to teach is already a given within the system. But, in their approach to teaching, Native teachers have the opportunity to apply their cultural sensitivities in the best interests of their students.

Many of the Native teacher graduates are of the younger generation. Just because they are Native and can speak a Native language does not necessarily mean that they have a deep knowledge of cultural history and tradition, or a rich and accurate control of their language. However, these are essential requirements, especially if Native language programs are to achieve high standards of excellence. Additional teacher education courses in the areas of Native culture and language are needed. An on-going program of workshops needs to be developed for Inuit teachers and classroom assistants. Top priority should be given to funding the development and publication of high quality support materials. In addition, adequate funding should be made available to pay for the expertise of local resource people to supplement school programs.

As part of a school staff, Inuit teachers can have some input into what the school does as a whole. On staffs where Inuit teachers are few in number, they may be reluctant to be very vocal in expressing opinions or trying to bring about change. A few Inuit teachers have become administrators within schools. These positions allow for considerable influence and control and for much responsibility.

From my own experiences as a vice-principal of a medium sized school, I have found that, just like the position of a classroom assistant, one's level of control and influence largely depends on

the person who is designated as principal, your partner in the administration team. Some principals see their role as a tutor and are very patient and willing to share their expertise in administrative skills. For others, their own career path tends to take priority.

When a Native person becomes a principal or advances to any type of executive or managerial position, the event is still fairly rare, so you feel that you must go the extra kilometre in the job to prove yourself, not only to your supervisor but to your own community as well.

The Cultural Instructor

Cultural inclusion programs, because of their cultural content and the involvement of local personnel as instructors, provide an excellent opportunity for community involvement in the school system. To date, however, in many schools, cultural inclusion programs have not been utilized to their full potential. Often the instructors, who have much cultural knowledge and expertise to share, feel incompetent and ineffective in the school setting. They lack adequate training in teaching methodology and classroom management. In many cases they are provided with a skeletal guideline instead of a curriculum developed with proper scope and sequence. Ultimately it is the students who suffer.

So in these cases, being master of their own program does not mean community control in the desired sense. Support systems in terms of training for instructors and a properly developed local curriculum are essential to ensure excellence in cultural inclusion programs.

The School Counsellor

The newly created training program for school counsellors is a positive step towards fostering understanding and awareness between home and school. Public relations will be an important aspect of the school counsellor's position. All schools will need to make a determined effort to keep the community informed about what their children are learning. A public relations component should be built in to each course of study and should be required as part of each teacher's year plans. As long as parents are unaware and uninformed, it is futile of educators to expect their support and commitment for the school.

The Local Education Society

Education societies have considerable opportunity through the Education Act (GNWT Education 1977) to exercise control over the local school, including the local language policy and involvement in the appointment of principals, teachers and other teaching personnel. In order to make sound decisions, members elected to the societies not only need to have a good knowledge of school programs and organization, they must also reflect the wishes of the community they represent.

Policy directions for a community school should be arrived at by a consensus between the elected society members, representing the community, and the educators within the school. Discussions and presentations on school programs must be in lay terms to ensure the participation and understanding of local people. Neither the education society nor the school can do it alone and expect to achieve the desired success in program development. It is especially important that Native educators working within the school system and society members from outside the school work in harmony to achieve community control, and not be at odds with each other.

Parents

Some parents, because of their own bad experiences with the education system in the past or their lack of any exposure to a formal education, may feel alienated from the school. Others may feel intimidated and confused by the educational jargon which does not readily lend itself to translation. Consequently, they do not feel a part of the school system. Nor do they feel that they have anything worthwhile to contribute to it. They may participate in electing education society members, but may not attend public meetings, school events or parent - teacher interviews. More important, they may not be committed to ensuring consistent attendance and punctuality of their school-age children.

An intense, on-going public relations effort by local schools and by the Department of Education at the regional and territorial levels is vital. Its objective must be to inform parents and to involve them in the education of their children. No matter how active the local society is in making decisions, and no matter how culturally relevant the school's programs may be, if parents do not feel committed to the education system, it will not achieve success.

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's television programs and Inuktitut programming on the radio are powerful mediums that could be tapped to inform Native people about educational programs, cover school events, debate issues, explore options, and view pilot programs.

Community Resource People

Within every community there is a pool of resource people whose cultural knowledge and expertise is only periodically tapped. Their involvement in school programs is generally on a voluntary basis, and is usually short term. When school budgets are being drawn up and funding

allotted, very little consideration is given to the value of these rich, vital and locally available resources. Educators agree that the involvement of local people in programs is essential for effective community schools. We have to show that cultural knowledge has much worth, and is just as constructive and helpful in promoting high standards of excellence as knowledge in science, for example.

For the purposes of seminars or workshops we feel that it is quite appropriate to bring up an expert from the south to instruct educators in learning development methodology or effective schools. These experts demand large per diem allowances. Let us place the same monetary value on the cultural expertise we have locally. This does not mean that there is no place for volunteers in the classrooms. However, by paying educational resource people for their cultural expertise, we would be communicating the message that Native people have a worthwhile contribution to make towards their children's schooling. They can be a part of it, too.

Conclusion

The success of Native education is directly related to the amount of community control and involvement there is in the school system. Only when Native people feel a part of that system, that they have a stake in it, will they assume responsibility in a meaningful way and become committed to its success.

Native educators within the school system and concerned community members must strive to ensure swift and steady progress towards this goal. It is imperative that we not sit back and wait for our influence to slowly evolve. We cannot afford to tarry. There is rapid change in all areas of our life: political, economic, and social. To ensure top quality education for our children and

to help bridge the gaps between young and old, and home and school, we must actively promote rapid change in the education system as well. And we must continue to do so until we truly have a sense of ownership.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE BAFFIN DIVISIONAL BOARD

This paper was written by Eric Colbourne when he was Superintendent of the Divisional Board. It was read on behalf of the Board by Okalik Eegeesiak. Okalik is the Board's Local Education Authority Development Officer.

The Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) came into being on April l, 1985, and was the first Inuit controlled board of education to be formed in the Northwest Territories. Its jurisdiction includes all of the communities on Baffin Island, the High Arctic and the community of Sanikiluaq in southern Hudson Bay. This jurisdiction, in terms of land mass, may be the largest of any board of its kind in the world with a distance of almost 3000 miles between its most northerly school in Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island and its most southerly school in Sanikiluaq. The physical size of this jurisdiction gives some indication of the challenges faced by the Board. Before looking at these challenges and some of the major issues facing our Board, it is worthwhile to look at the past as a means of understanding the present in Eastern Arctic Education.

Prior to any schools being built in our land, education was the sole responsibility of the family. Boys and girls learned from their fathers, mothers and others in the family, the skills and knowledge which were necessary for survival and for a successful life in our environment. It was not until the late 1800's and the early part of this century that the Anglican and Roman Catholic Missionaries set up missions across the Eastern Arctic and a new element was introduced into the education of the Inuit child.

The Federal Government at this time was simply not interested in providing educational services for the Inuit. Its position was that there was nothing of value in the North which could justify spending a lot of money. Its attitude was that the Inuit should be left alone to continue their way of life undisturbed; an attitude of benign neglect which was to characterize federal policy towards the Inuit for the first half of this century. The first request ever made to the Federal Government for assistance in running a school was made by the Reverend E.J. Peck who had started a school at Blacklead Island in Southern Baffin around 1903. He was told that the Federal Government did not intend to assist in educational work among these people.

So, until 1950 the churches were the only source of schooling for Inuit children. As one would expect the emphasis was on the teaching of Christianity. Important developments during this period were the translation of the Bible into Inuktitut and the teaching of syllabics.

Federal spending figures illustrate the degree of Government involvement in Inuit education. In 1915 the figure was $400, by 1920, this figure had grown by 1000% to the sum of $4000, and by 1930, the Federal Government was spending all of $12,000 on eight mission schools in the NWT. Its policy remained the same throughout these decades: Inuit should remain Inuit. This was perhaps not a bad policy except that it was based on the beliefs that first, Inuit were not advanced enough to benefit from schooling, and second, there was nothing of value in the North.

As is often the case, it was the Americans who taught Canada the real importance of the Arctic. In 1942 the U.S. built military bases at several places in the Eastern Arctic including Iqaluit on Baffin Island and Coral Harbour on Southampton Island. It was only at this point that the

Canadian government began to recognize the strategic importance of the Arctic in the defence of North America. And it was only then that the government acknowledged the fact that Inuit were Canadians, entitled to the same services and privileges as all other Canadians.

In 1947, the Federal Government made the decision to build and operate schools in the N.W.T. Over the next twenty years, schooling was extended as a service to nearly all Inuit. The major objective of this school system was to encourage the Inuit children to speak English. No thought was given to the involvement of Inuit parents in the development of this school system. The experts in Ottawa decided that the curriculum for the Eastern Arctic schools would be the same as that of Ontario and children were discouraged from speaking their mother-tongue because it was felt that this would make them learn English faster. Another belief at the time was that there was no future in the Inuit lifestyle and that the best plan for making Inuit into good Canadians was to transplant them to colonies to be located on the outskirts of major Canadian cities where they could more easily enter the mainstream of Canadian society. Thus was born the philosophy of the portable Inuk.

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's Inuit education was characterized by a lack of direction. Teachers, most of whom were not prepared for teaching in another culture, did their best without the tools to do the job and with very little direction. It was not until 1969 that the Federal Government realized that it could not run the North from Ottawa and accordingly transferred much of its powers, including those over education, to a new Territorial Government to be located in Yellowknife.

It was in the early 1970s, after this transfer of power to the Government of the N.W.T. (GNWT), that we saw the first acknowledgement that Inuit parents had a role to play in the school system. Education advisory committees, made up of elected representatives, were formed in each community to advise on the operation of schools. In recognition of the child's language and culture, Inuit classroom assistants were engaged to assist in instruction at the primary level. Thought was now being given as well to the training of Inuit teachers. Fundamentally, however, the direction of education had not changed and parents were extremely dissatisfied with the results of school programs. Children were not achieving, drop-out rates were extremely high and language skills in both English and Inuktitut were felt to be deteriorating. The important skills of survival in our environment were not being passed on to the new generation. By 1980 public dissatisfaction had reached such a level that the NWT Legislative Assembly established a Special Committee on Education to inquire into all aspects of the education system in the NWT. After forty-three public hearings this Special Committee concluded that parents in the NWT desired: quality education, a curriculum which reflected the languages and cultures of the people in the NWT, and control over the education system. The Special Committee also recommended the establishment of a college system, increased training opportunities for Native teachers and improved special education services.

The NWT government subsequently moved to implement many of the recommendations. In 1983 it amended the Education Act to permit the formation of divisional boards of education which would exercise significant levels of control over schools in the various regions of the NWT. It should be noted that the Baffin Region Education Society (BRES), a regional organization responsible for education, had existed in Baffin since 1977. Its major goal was that it be recognized as a school board and, thereby, acquire the means to change the system to meet the

needs of the people of Baffin. The BRES was the first group to petition the Government of the NWT for divisional board status. The new Board, which was created in April, 1985, faced some major challenges.

The majority of young Inuit do not complete high school. In our view, this is largely due to the fact that high school programs have not been established in most of our communities. For the completion of grade twelve, the regional high school in Iqaluit is still the only option. Understandably, most parents do not want to send their children out of the community to complete their schooling. Consequently, most students finish school at grade nine, or in a few communities, grade ten.

Many of our students are dropping out at the grade eight and nine level probably because the incentive of high school programs are not available. Whatever the reasons for this situation, it represents a tremendous waste of human potential and has serious implications for the future. A major priority for the Board, therefore, is the establishment of high school programs in all our communities so that the equality of educational opportunity that is available to all other Canadians is available to us.

It is widely recognized that a major function of schooling is the transmission of culture. But up to now, we as Inuit have had to ask whose culture the school was transmitting. While we wish in no way to turn our backs on the rest of Canada or the world, we firmly believe that our schools should reflect our values, our attitudes, our culture and our language. We intend to achieve this goal through the redesign of our curriculum to reflect the importance of our history, our lifestyle, our land, our language and our culture. In addition, we are actively encouraging

the enrolment of more young people in the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program which is affiliated with McGill University. At present, 30% of the teachers in our Board are bilingual Inuit teachers. We hope that within five years that figure will have risen to 50%.

The Board's mission, then, is to ensure our own cultural survival and to ensure that the children in our schools today are prepared to take on the responsibilities of our society in the future; responsibilities which at present are undertaken by others but which Inuit are rapidly assuming. In realizing that mission, we are confident that we can make the right decisions and for the first time we have the opportunity to do so. We had been told so many times in the past that others had to make those decisions for us. You will, therefore, excuse us if we make a few mistakes along the way.

OUR FUTURE IS NOW
DIRECTIONS FOR EDUCATION IN THE BAFFIN DIVISION

Presented on behalf of the
Baffin Divisional Board of Education
by Brian Menton

Over the past 25 years there has been tremendous social change in the Baffin Region. This continual change has had a profound impact on the culture and the environment of the Inuit. We have seen the development of schooling, better health care, industrial development, and the development of political organizations. The revolution in communications and transportation technology has brought the North into instant contact with the rest of Canada and other parts of the world. We know all too well that what happens in one part of the world can have an immediate impact on our way of life in Nunavut. Not all of the changes have been positive. The profound shift of attitudes and values has had secondary effects such as drug use, alcoholism, and suicide.

Perhaps nowhere in the world has this change continued at such a rapid pace as in the Eastern Arctic, with the result that we are faced with an increasingly complex environment for ourselves and for our children. It also means a complex and difficult task to define an education system which will meet the future needs of our young people. In considering this system, there are a number of fundamental questions for which we must seek answers:

What are the purposes of schooling?
What kind of future do we want for our children?
What values must children develop?
What skills must they have?
What attitudes must they have?

What kind of society are we working towards?
What is happening to our language?

Since the school has become one of the fundamental influences in the lives of our children, we have to ensure that it contributes effectively to the development of positive values and attitudes which are consistent with our culture. We must, at the same time, ensure that it provides children with the inner strength and pride that they will need to withstand the tensions and pressures of a rapidly changing world.

The School

While our schools have undoubtedly had a major impact on Nunavut, they have lacked a clear sense of purpose. Parents are unsure of what they want from schools. Educators complain about a lack of direction. The resulting problems in our education system have been well documented elsewhere. We do know that the confusion over the purposes of schooling has inevitably affected the children in the schools, very few of whom ever graduate. This factor alone represents a tremendous waste of human potential, and if our children are to assume their rightful place in Nunavut, we must find ways of reversing the trend. Accordingly, the development of a firm direction for our school system is the major challenge facing the Baffin Divisional Board.

The School and Its Role

We believe that the school must be committed to serving the rights of the child within the cultural framework of the community. Because of these roots in the community, and because of the school's use of customs, language, values, literature and thought from other cultures, the school is also the crossroads of culture - the place where children are exposed to new ideas and new worlds and where they gather from their own culture the strength that will enable them to

become happy and productive individuals. The school, then, has a number of specific roles:

> The school must lay the foundation for lifelong education, assuring the child of the greatest possible opportunity for a satisfying and productive life. At the same time it is recognized that the school is not the only vehicle for education.
>
> The school complements the family as a place where the child learns to become an individual and a responsible person. It is an extension of the family, which is the primary focus of the child and the first centre of learning. It goes without saying, therefore, that there must be close ties between school and family.
>
> The school is primarily a place of teaching and learning, where the intellectual capacity of the child is developed and expanded. The school must, therefore, constantly strive for the highest standards of performance from all its participants, both students and teachers.
>
> The school is a place where young people develop an identity, where young adults arrive at a realistic sense of what they are, what they want, what they need, and what their responsibilities are to the community. It is a place where individuals develop pride in themselves, a sense of self-confidence, and the ability to make their own decisions.
>
> The school plays a central role in the transmission of the cultural heritage from one generation to the next. In this way all societies are able to maintain their existence. However, education does more than help us maintain our culture, it is also a means to develop and improve that culture. Because schools play this fundamental role in cultural transmission and change, we must ensure that the school reflects the culture of the child.

Expectations

All of us, as parents or as public representatives responsible for education, have certain expectations of schools in our communities. Amongst these are the following:

> We expect children to develop the skills in reading, writing, mathematics and in other areas which they need in order to continue further training or in order to take advantage of the opportunities in our society.
>
> We expect that children will discover their natural, human and social worlds - that they will have knowledge of the land, the sea, the community, and knowledge of our social customs.
>
> We expect that children will develop a thorough knowledge of their language and culture - that they will come to understand the past and present realities of our society.
>
> We expect that our children, while retaining their own language and culture, will develop their English language and other skills to enable them to function effectively in Canadian society.

Purposes of Baffin Divisional Schooling

From our understanding of the role of the school in society and from our expectations of the school in the community, we are able to delineate the specific objectives for our school system. The following aims are not listed in order of priority, however, we believe they represent a comprehensive set of objectives for our school system:

- developing human relations skills, for example, getting along well with others.
- developing a strong Inuit identity along with a sense of pride and confidence in oneself.
- preparing students to function well in their own communities.

- developing knowledge of and skills in, aspects of Inuit culture such as survival on the land.
- developing competency in Inuktitut.
- preparing students to function in the English language.
- developing basic skills in such areas as reading, writing, and mathematics in both languages, Inuktitut and English.
- developing in students a strong personal value system.
- preparing students for college or university level training.
- developing physical fitness.

The Function and Goals of the Baffin Divisional Board

The Baffin Divisional Board of Education has a broad mandate to administer and manage education for the people of the Baffin Region. This means that we must ensure that the broad policy goals of the Ministry are implemented and that specific goals are set to meet the special needs of our constituency. At the moment there are a number of major policy issues facing the board and these must be attended to over the next several years. Amongst these are:

- the overall quality of education in our schools.
- the questions of Inuktitut language development and of a curriculum in Inuktitut.
- the question of cultural continuity and how the school can contribute to our cultural development.
- the development of a public awareness of education.
- resolving dropout and other problems of youth.

- teacher training and the orientation of new (southern) teachers.
- the extension of high school programs to all communities.
- responding effectively to the needs of local communities.

With these issues in mind, the Baffin Divisional Board seeks to develop a school system with standards comparable to those of school systems elsewhere in Canada. The following corporate goals expand on these issues and establish the direction to be taken by the Baffin Divisional Board in meeting the expressed needs of its constituency.

Corporate Goals and Priorities

1.0 **Schools:** The curriculum shall reflect the cultural heritage of the Inuit. In working towards this goal, the Board believes that its priorities lie in three areas:

- the development of high quality programs in Inuktitut in all subject areas.
- the development of programs which emphasize survival in our environment.
- the development of Inuktitut as a second language programs for our schools.

1.1 English as a second language shall be a major focus of schooling. Our students must develop the advanced reading, writing and speaking skills in English which will enable them to function effectively in that language.

1.2 Within the limits of established resources, the Baffin Division will attempt to meet the special and individualized needs of its student population.

1.3 High school programs shall be developed for all communities within the Board's jurisdiction.

1.4 High school programs shall be articulated with the programs of the Arctic College.

2.0 **Board Development and Public Relations**: In order for the board to function effectively as the body responsible for education, it must communicate effectively with the public, with the ministry, with its employees and with other organizations which share an interest in education. Accordingly, the board sets the following priorities:

2.1 The development of programs to promote closer dialogue between staff and parents in communities.

2.2 The development of a schedule of community visits by the chairperson and members of the executive committee.

2.3 The development of a dialogue with other organizations through exchanging minutes of meetings, and inviting briefs and presentations.

2.4 The development of a strategy for community consultation and review of policy.

2.5 The development of channels of communication with teachers and the general public.

2.6 The development of an awareness program for board members with an emphasis on regular workshops and participation in conferences.

3.0 **Personnel**: The Baffin Divisional Board of Education recognizes that its success is dependent on the excellence of its personnel, be they teachers, administrators, or others. The Board therefore sets the following goals:

3.1 The formulation of policies and the implementation of programs that will attract and develop exceptional teachers, administrators and other personnel.

3.2 The formulation and implementation of processes for the supervision and evaluation of personnel.

3.3 The formulation of processes which involve personnel in decision making.

4.0 **Financial Management**: Expenditures in the next several years will increasingly reflect the new orientations set for schooling within the division as the Board seeks to obtain the maximum efficiency from its allocated resources.

4.1 On an annual basis the Baffin Divisional Board of Education will develop its budget to reflect, within the limits of available resources, the priorities which have been set by the Board.

RURAL SCHOOLS IN A TECHNOLOGICAL WORLD

William G. Demmert

Bill Demmert is Commissioner for Education for Alaska. Along with his many official duties, he is also Chairperson of the International Steering Committee for this seminar series.

The issue before us today, as I understand it, is: What should schooling include to prepare northern students for their present environment and for the future? The question is relatively simple. The answer is rather complex. There may be different answers for different students, communities, and countries. In this series of seminars held in the circumpolar nations over the past decade, participants have indicated that their children are the most important resource, and that a young person's education and well-being are the highest priorities. A review of the information, reinforced by this conference, suggests a basic set of principles that have surfaced during the seminar series. The principles include:

(i) The cultures of the indigenous populations of the North are important and must be maintained.

(ii) The school's culture must reflect the communities served, and must motivate young men and women to work towards a meaningful role in life as adults.

(iii) Community members (leaders, parents, elders) must become involved in the educational process through the establishment of high expectations and through community support for students. They must monitor their progress in school, influence the curriculum and how students are evaluated, and create a local climate that supports schooling.

(iv) The world in which northern peoples live is constantly changing. Our schools must be prepared to accommodate that change.

(v) School curriculum must provide a comprehensive program that allows for a student's personal best in academic, physical, socio-cultural, psychological, and traditional development.

(vi) Students must be allowed choices between vocational-technical, business, or professional careers, and understand how each of those relates to rural, subsistence economies.

(vii) Governments that have imposed themselves upon aboriginal populations must be flexible and responsive to the special needs of those populations, and must provide real opportunities for people to contribute to the society in which they live.

There are probably other principles that are appropriate to some of the groups, and some that individuals believe very strongly about, but those above seem to be well supported by all. A growing body of scientifically gathered information supports these principles. This expanding collection of knowledge is extremely important to decision makers as options for schooling are considered by communities, parents, and school professionals. Let me review these options, most of which were expressed at this seminar in various forms over the past several days.

Early Childhood Education

Society is beginning to realize that early preparation for the development of learning skills among young children is absolutely necessary if educators are to succeed in motivating youngsters to reach their personal best. We understand that development of a language base takes place before a child is three years old, that parents can do much to stimulate intellectual strengths, influence a youngster's physical and mental well-being, set the stage for cultural and social development,

and do much to place a youngster on the right track for a happy and productive life. The attitudes and activities of a community are also important support systems for families, youngsters, and institutions involved in the educational process. The issue is what do we, as parents, communities, and schools do about it.

We have learned we must talk to infants early to enhance their language skills. We have learned we can add to children's intellect if we allow them to explore, answer the many questions that they ask and listen to what they say. As a part of the discussions this week, we have emphasized support for parent-based early childhood education programs which insure that these programs include opportunities for the development of a proper cultural base among youngsters. We have also emphasized that the programs should include traditional language development where that is important, a reinforcement of cultural values, and activities that help maturation in physical, social, interpersonal, intrapersonal, spacial, and other intellectual pursuits.

Schooling

As parents and communities we can certainly expect every student to succeed in their educational pursuits, working to make sure the school responds to the contemporary needs of the community and the future needs of the student. We have reviewed the importance of schools reflecting the cultures of the students and communities they serve. We have recommended that there be more and better trained Native teachers and school administrators in systems serving Native people. Students need to read well, and speak and write with authority in the language of the larger society, if they are to play a meaningful role in that society. Schools must reflect the cultural values of the parents and the community from which the students come. In many communities this means a reinforcement of traditional language, skills necessary for subsistence activity, as

well as an understanding of self, one's own people and the role they have played in the history of their country.

Participants of this seminar have recognized the influence teachers have in stimulating good schools in general. Along with the desire to increase the number of Native teachers in the profession, there is a recognition that teachers must be sensitive, caring, skilled in their areas of training, and able to communicate effectively with both students and a variety of community members alike. We recognize that what teachers do in the classroom is critical to success, that they need to be responsive to a number of learning styles, and that what they expect of students must reflect the priorities of parents and community. If the culture of the school is in conflict with the cultures of the communities and students served, if the school is viewed as belonging to some entity other than the local population, if teachers do not understand the students or communities in which they are working, if teachers cannot communicate effectively with the students or their parents, the school will probably be ineffective for the majority of students. We know this and recognize that schools must change where this is the case.

The Curriculum

Society is showing a significant amount of concern over the content of school curriculum. The desire to include Native languages is clearly articulated. Do members of the home reinforce this by providing students with opportunities to practice and expand their vocabularies? There are certainly a wide variety of local and cultural requirements. Have schools built partnerships with business, government, and local groups to sort those priorities out in terms of knowledge, skill requirements, and opportunities to participate in activities that support those priorities, or is this responsibility left totally to the school. What about the future intellectual needs of the student?

Can graduates read, write and articulate their thoughts at a level expected by society in general? Have students been trained to think, seek information, and analyze that information for informed decision making as adults? Do students have a positive self-image, an understanding of their future role in society, an appreciation of the place their people have in history and the development of the country? If not, why not? If not, what should be done? I am not sure we have answered these questions in this Seminar, but have surely identified concerns and options to consider.

Barriers

Students from a variety of backgrounds have encountered barriers to their education. Let's review what some of those are to see if they reflect circumpolar situations:

(i) There is a shortage of teachers and school administrators from the cultures of the students served. Some research evidence shows that Native teachers can influence Native student behaviour, classroom climate, and sense of ownership within a school. Subtleties in various types of communication; classroom interaction; perspectives based on culture, environment, training, and other possibilities are all necessary for success.

(ii) The effects of physical, mental, and other kinds of child abuse have traumatic consequences on a child's ability to learn. A young student who is neglected or ignored, periodically beaten, sexually abused, or not treated fairly, regardless of the reason, will have difficulty in school. The student's classroom behaviour, his ability to socialize, to handle academic coursework, and his concentration skills are all affected.

(iii) Alcohol and other substance abuse problems, like child abuse problems, may seriously impair a student's ability to succeed academically or socialize in school. Substance abuse by parents

before and during pregnancy will affect a young child's physical and intellectual abilities to a very significant degree.

(iv) Economic situations that do not allow students to participate fully in academic, social and extracurricular activities like athletics, debate, and student government may tell students these activities are not important. Economically depressed families, where ready income is not available to provide children with required spending money for school trips, adequate clothing for schooling and school activities like physical education classes, or other hidden costs, may find their children's attitude toward school becoming negative and that their children will begin to disassociate themselves from school.

(v) The lack of proper home or community support for schooling and school-related activities often tells students that an education is not important. Lack of studying space in a home, parental apathy towards school work, lack of parental attendance at school functions, constant criticism about the school system, lack of interest in student academic progress, all serve to reduce a student's interest in school.

(vi) Poor preparation during the early stages of a youngster's life for the development of reading, writing, and speaking skills will significantly influence a student's ability to do well in school. Beyond these basic communication skills, success in school is directly related to the establishment of intellectual, social, cultural, and language skills and to physical well-being early in a child's life.

(vii) Overt or covert racism will probably influence a student's self-image, attitudes about school and schooling, and motivation, as well as attitudes about society in general. Some students succeed despite of this but, to overcome the problem, the support systems for those students need to be very strong.

Suggestions for Consideration Concerning Improved Education

The suggestions arising from the various discussions of this group are worth summarizing. These include:

(i) The establishment of parent-based early childhood education programs in each community, village, or neighbourhood. The programs would concentrate on stimulating select competencies in physical, language, logical-mathematical, musical, spatial, interpersonal, and intrapersonal development. Social and cultural understandings are important aspects of the programs, along with mental health. Members of the community, extended families, parents or guardians (or prospective parents) would have an opportunity to work with the youngsters as part of a training activity. That activity would provide community members and parents with the academic and cultural skills and knowledge required to develop the base necessary for successful schooling and adulthood.

(ii) Middle school and high school classes should teach students how to help younger children develop academic, behavioural, physical, and mental skills critical to their success as contributing adults. These skills would be important to students as older siblings, as babysitters, and as adults with children in later life.

(iii) Professional support is needed for greater efforts by school administrators to facilitate and help social organizations and other community organizations plan and implement programs that serve students requiring special services. These services should address the problems of child abuse, teen pregnancy, drug abuse, economic crises that affect schooling, and other barriers that deter student success in school.

(iv) Encourage schools to help create community climates that promote schooling and encourage parents and other members of the community to understand what it takes for students to succeed in school. This would include programs that motivate

parents to work with their youngsters on a personal basis in play, social activities, school work, and to encourage attitudes important to success in school and as adults. It could include the creation of public service programs in which students would work, as suggested by Carnegie and other agencies and individuals.

(v) Educators should work toward a number of changes in the structure, climate and culture of schools by encouraging:

- A public process that allows for in-depth debate on what the role of modern schools ought to be in society, and which identifies some of the primary priorities for local communities.

- Greater opportunity for local input in setting school curriculums.

- More schools that reflect the cultures of the students who attend them and the community they serve.

- Well-trained, dedicated, caring teachers with opportunities to teach.

- Expectations that require all students to reach their best potential.

- School curriculum that provides accurate descriptions of the contributions and history of a variety of cultures, that focus on the different intelligences that students have, and school staffs that reflect the linguistic and cultural makeup of local school districts.

Once firm foundations in academics, physical development, social and cultural understandings, physical and mental and psychological health are attained, students must have clear and achievable options to pursue as young adults. That means that those who are inclined to higher academic interests, vocational or technical aspirations, the fine arts, athletics, or other adult pursuits, should have that opportunity. Minorities, the poor and the poorly educated do not have that opportunity today.

If our young people are to successfully challenge our modern society, they need the intellectual, physical and mental tools that will allow them to do so.

PART II

NATIVE TEACHER TRAINING

TEACHER TRAINING IN THE CANADIAN EASTERN ARCTIC

David Wilman

David Wilman, a long time Northerner, is Principal of the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP) in Iqaluit. This paper discusses developments in teacher training that have taken place in the Eastern Arctic during the past decade. When the literature on Northern education is often littered with expensive failures, it is encouraging to read about the occasional successes. EATEP, a young and dynamic institution, is one of those successes. Its graduates are making a significant impact on the delivery of bilingual programs across the Eastern Arctic. EATEP's innovative approach to Native teacher training is now being replicated in other parts of Canada, and as far away as Peru.

Take a map of the Northwest Territories. Find Gjoa Haven, on an island off the Arctic Coast, approximately 1800 miles north of Winnipeg. From there south to the sixtieth parallel and east to Hudson Bay and the Davis Strait is the area served by the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP). No other Native teacher training program in North America serves an area as vast or as isolated as that served by EATEP. In this vast and isolated area, some 1600 miles east to west, 2500 miles north to south, which encompasses the Territorial Government's Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot administrative regions, more than 90% of the children come to school speaking only their mother-tongue, Inuktitut (GNWT 1984). Throughout this area schools are controlled by locally elected education councils and in most communities Inuktitut-English bilingual education programs are in demand. Where the community wishes it, legislation (GNWT 1977, 1982) requires that children should be taught through the medium of their mother-tongue, Inuktitut, at least for the first four years of the elementary school. The same legislation also

requires the provision of Inuktitut instruction as a regular component of school programs at all grade levels beyond these introductory years. This means there is an urgent demand for Inuktitut learning materials and for Inuit teachers. This paper discusses only one half of the needs: teacher training.

After two tentative experiments in the early 1970's, the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program was set up in Iqaluit in 1979 as an offshoot of the teacher training program located at Fort Smith in the western NWT. At that time in Fort Smith there was a two- year institutional program, with the emphasis on English instruction. Any ties to Fort Smith were quickly severed and what we have developed in the Eastern Arctic is radically different. From the start, our emphasis has been on producing teachers capable of teaching in Inuktitut. During the last three years, as our graduates began to fill many of the teaching positions in the lower elementary grades, we have expanded our objectives to include training for work at the upper elementary and junior high school levels. In addition, the program is no longer simply institutional. We have incorporated into the teacher training program the previously separate classroom assistant training program, and now offer not just an institutional teacher training program, but a field-based, on-the-job, training program for classroom assistants (para-professional teachers) who otherwise may not be able to undertake any kind of planned professional training because of their isolation, family commitments, or because of other restrictions on their mobility.

Because of the language situation, many Inuit classroom assistants in the Eastern Arctic had developed the skills of independent teachers, but the credit they received for the courses and training they had completed could not be counted towards teacher certification. Even the most experienced and well qualified classroom assistants had to begin again at square one if they

wanted to earn full teaching credentials. We have changed all that. Now there is a set of EATEP courses accredited by McGill University leading towards the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education and to the NWT Standard Teaching Certificate. These courses can be taken full time in the institution, during the summer, or, thanks to a $400,000 grant made by the Donner Canadian Foundation in 1981, through intensive field-based courses offered at different locations during the winter to classroom assistants and institutional trainees alike. Trainees have considerable flexibility: most now do the equivalent of the first year in the field, spread over two, three or more years, and then come in for one institutional year, thus completing the requirements of the present two year program, which qualifies them for the teaching credentials noted above.

Recognizing the need for more specialized training, in September 1984 we began a third year program for Inuit teachers who had earlier graduated from either EATEP or the Fort Smith program. This program, like the first and second year programs, consists entirely of courses drawn from the regular McGill calendar but offered in Iqaluit by our own faculty and by visiting McGill University professors. Students who have already completed a few courses beyond initial teacher certification at our regular summer programs can now attain the Bachelor of Education at the end of this third year. Others can normally complete the requirements for their degree after one additional semester of study carrying a regular load of three or four courses. The first Inuk from Nunavut to graduate with a Bachelor of Education through EATEP did so in June 1985. Two more Inuit completed their Bachelor of Education degrees in December 1985, four more graduated in June 1987, and two of these seven graduates have now been admitted to graduate studies at McGill. It is interesting to note that three non-Inuit teachers have joined our Bachelor of

Education program, and that of the seven NWT teachers who were granted educational leave for the 1984-85 school year, three chose to study at EATEP rather than at a southern university.

Naturally there are problems: too few qualified Inuktitut speaking instructors, too much English, too few high school graduates applying for the institution, too many field-based students scattered across too many kilometres, too many demands on too few staff, too little time, too little money, and much too much bureaucracy. And yet we have hopes. Hopes of a significant increase in the number of experienced Inuit teachers working in our schools, of taking responsibility for Inuktitut curriculum development, of training language specialists and bilingual educationists, and of creating career paths beyond the Bachelor of Education for Inuit teachers who aspire to more advanced studies. High hopes, high inflation, low budgets, lots of problems ... we doubt our sanity sometimes.

One problem emerged clearly in a recent evaluation which was otherwise highly favourable (Carney 1984). It was commented that EATEP graduates had problems with the teaching of English as a Second Language. This is not only true, it is also predictable. As indicated in the second paragraph of this paper our initial mandate was to deal with the disastrous lack of certified Inuktitut-speaking teachers in the educational system of the NWT. Such a complaint was, therefore, akin to ordering vegetable curry in an Indian restaurant and then complaining about the lack of beef! In its first twelve years, 1968 - 1980, only thirty-five Inuit teachers had graduated from the teacher training program at Fort Smith (Teacher Education Program, 1980). In May of 1981, only twelve of this group were still serving in the more than 120 Kindergarten to grade three classrooms where teachers able to teach in Inuktitut were desperately needed (Wilman 1981). Of these, none were teaching above the grade four level. It would have been

impossible, in a two year program, to produce teachers of Inuktitut who were also TESL or any other kind of specialists. In considering this issue it should also be pointed out that the Department of Education has failed either to hire or to train a cadre of TESL specialists among their southern-hired teachers who are native speakers of English. While presenting a paper at a recent teachers' workshop in Iqaluit, the writer asked a group of more than forty teachers, mainly from the south, to indicate if they had taken any TESL training. Only the writer and one other teacher raised a hand. She was an EATEP graduate.

We must emphasize that it is not sufficient to provide trainees with one TESL course and then expect them to function efficiently in the multicultural, bilingual situation that exists in most classrooms in the Eastern Arctic. We therefore intend, given the resources, to offer within the Bachelor of Education program and beyond, the opportunity to acquire a specialist certificate in second language teaching. If our graduates are to function as competently with TESL as they do in Inuktitut, they need the same kind of integrated set of courses as is at present provided for their first language. Negotiations are already underway with McGill on the content of this certificate.

In order to introduce more Inuktitut instruction into the training process itself, two early graduates of our program were hired as trainee instructors after two or three years in the classroom. A carefully scheduled three-year program of academic study and professional development was prepared for each trainee. These programs were designed to equip the trainee instructors with the academic background and experience they would need before taking on the responsibilities and pressures of a permanent faculty position at EATEP. One trainee completed her program in 1985 and now holds a full teaching position specializing in Inuktitut Language

Arts, Drama and Cultural Studies. The second completed her program in December 1986, and now instructs courses in Inuktitut linguistics and computer education at EATEP.

In our negotiations to establish and offer Bachelor of Education courses in Iqaluit, McGill University was particularly helpful. They provided logistical and pedagogical support, they appointed two of EATEP's permanent staff to faculty at the University, they approved the establishment of several new academic courses, and encouraged faculty to visit Iqaluit regularly to offer seminars and instruct sections of our Bachelor of Education program. For example, we were encouraged to develop an eighteen credit academic Inuktitut component. This block of courses includes three three-credit linguistics courses dealing with the phonology, morphology and syntax of Inuktitut, a special topics course, and a six-credit course in Inuit literature. The Inuit literature course has had an interesting spin-off. EATEP, in association with the Hochelaga Research Foundation of Montreal, has acquired an exhaustive collection of some 3000 books, papers, and periodicals in Inuktitut or written by Inuit and published in other languages. This collection, which contains many rare and valuable books, is fully catalogued and is now situated on our premises in Iqaluit, where it is available as a reference to both our students and to other scholars involved in research on the Inuit language and culture. Our students have named this unique collection Isumaksaqsiurvik, literally "the place where you search for knowledge."

This probably sounds impressive enough. Does it work? Evaluations tell part of the story; the reactions of trainees give another clue. Early on in our summer programs, students began to give indications of an emotion closely resembling enthusiasm. One young lady had to leave class early on a Wednesday to have a baby. On Saturday she was back in class, apologizing anxiously to the writer for missing class on Thursday and Friday. We forgave her: she passed that course

and eventually entered the second year institutional program, graduating as a teacher in June 1985. Not every trainee has the opportunity to display commitment so obviously; not many would. We who teach in the program, and who make no pretence of being objective about it, claim to notice a marked increase in determination and career ambition among the young people we work with.

Another one of the indicators of such enthusiasm, presumably less subjective, is statistics. By June 1987, EATEP had graduated 55 teachers. All but four of this group are either working in our schools or have returned to us to continue their studies towards the Bachelor of Education degree. In addition to our own 55 graduates, seven Inuit teachers who earlier graduated from the Fort Smith program have registered in our Bachelor of Education program. Since the establishment of the field-based program in 1981, more than 140 classroom assistants have registered for the McGill - EATEP Certificate in Native and Northern Education. Of this number 55 are no longer active, mostly through resignation from their posts, but in each of the three regions we serve, there is a strong, active contingent of classroom assistants pursuing a coordinated program of studies which will lead to a Classroom Assistants Diploma, to teacher certification, and eventually to a full degree. At time of writing 80 classroom assistants are active in the field-based program, these in addition to the 18 institutional trainees registered for the 1987-88 academic year, and the 62 graduates registered in our Bachelor of Education program on a part-time basis.

Between November 1981 and June 1986 EATEP had offered seventeen field-based courses carrying university credit to the three regions of the Eastern Arctic: Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot, in Montreal, and in Nuuk, Greenland. Students in the field-based program can take up to five courses per year, two each summer and three during the regular school year. If a course they

require is being offered, arrangements are made to release them from their regular classroom duties, and for them to travel to the community where the course is being offered. Until early 1986, these courses were funded by the Donner Foundation grant and provided the opportunity for classroom assistants, who otherwise had only infrequent access to training, to quickly acquire the basic teaching skills they need in their work, and to proceed from there towards full teaching credentials. It is now possible to earn full teaching credentials entirely through the field-based program. In addition, our institutional schedule is arranged so that field-based trainees can regularly join our institutional classes during the school year. This arrangement is particularly cost efficient and more than doubles the number of courses available to field-based trainees each year. Further courses at the first year, second year and Bachelor of Education levels are available each year through our annual July Summer Program. We estimate that by the summer of 1990, we will have graduated 90 trained Inuit teachers, and that at least 25 of this group will have gone on to complete Bachelor of Education degrees. It is also now possible to earn the Bachelor of Education degree entirely through courses taken in the NWT through the EATEP - McGill affiliation. The first Inuk to earn her Bachelor of Education degree without attending a southern university did so in June this year (1987).

We've had help. Kativik School Board of Northern Quebec paved the way in developing field-based programs in the Arctic and provided part of the model we have developed. Similarly, we adopted part of the approach taken by the University of New Mexico's Navajo Teacher Education Program. We learned much from these programs, but naturally we have had to make our own experiments and adjustments so that our program would best serve the needs of our own clientele. Dean David Smith and Professors Jack Cram, Gordon Bennett and Howard Stutt of McGill University have given us unfailing support in our efforts to establish a high quality teacher

training program in the Eastern Arctic. And, of course, our field-based courses could never have been possible without the generous support of the Canadian Donner Foundation. That funding has now expired, and although the GNWT has assumed some of the costs for this component of our program, one of our immediate concerns is to identify a source of further funding which will guarantee autonomy and flexibility for this vital aspect of our exciting program.

The formal, external evaluation of our program (Carney 1984), while very encouraging, served to show us our weaknesses. In responding to these issues, our task for the near future is to refine, to fine tune the programs and approaches which have already proved to be in accord with the needs of the area and people we serve. This is the current challenge for the program. It is a challenge we will meet with the same determination and innovation which have been our hallmark to date. From a small beginning, the EATEP - McGill program has grown into a vital, exciting, and continuing venture with implications for the future that are only now being recognized. Not only has the program provided Inuit of the Eastern Arctic with access to professional and university training, it has also opened up a new area of employment that is of great cultural and economic significance to them. At the same time, it has provided a model on which to base other professional training programs for minority peoples.

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Note: This is an updated and expanded version of a paper written in 1985 by David Wilman and Mick Mallon.

THE KATIVIK - McGILL UNIVERSITY TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM

Betsy Annahatak and Doris Winkler

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In the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the Kativik School Board was given the mandate to set up a training program for its Inuit teachers. Kativik decided to continue the teacher education program which had been initiated by its predecessor la Commission scolaire du Nouveau-Quebec in collaboration with McGill University.

In 1975, when the late Jack Cram from McGill University met with representatives of the Commission scolaire du Nouveau-Quebec to plan this teacher education program, the immediate concern was to train Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 teachers who were in charge of classes where the language of instruction was Inuktitut.

Twelve years later we see that this Teacher Training program has had effects well beyond the classrooms on which it originally focused. Graduates from the program are bringing expertise and stability to all aspects of our education programs as curriculum developers, illustrators, instructors in the Teacher Training program, members of the local Education Committees, and one of them as Commissioner. The philosophy which guides this teacher education program has

facilitated this growth of Native control. Following are some of the important guiding principles of the Kativik-McGill Program.

It recognizes the need for a Native teacher education program to be truly adapted to the lifestyle of its teachers, to their environment and to their cultural background. Particular emphasis is placed on the study of Inuit child rearing practices, learning and teaching styles, as well as patterns of verbal and non-verbal communication. Very little of this knowledge was available to the qallunaaq (non-Inuit) advisors and administrators who planned the program and research into all these areas has become a priority and has been carried out by Inuit teachers in training, assisted by qallunaaq consultants.

While an existing 30-credit southern diploma program was used as a model, this was done with the full intention of adjusting and changing it over the years so that it would eventually fully meet the needs of the Inuit teachers. All changes have been made after close consultation between the administrators and the teachers-in-training.

For the Northern teachers, full-time study was impossible due to family and job responsibilities and it was decided to spread the course work over three years with the practical on-the-job training component taking place between course sessions. Courses are planned twice a year, for a longer period in the summer (3 1/2 weeks) and a shorter ten day session in the winter. Over the years each settlement has hosted at least one teacher training session and this contact with the local population has been important for teachers and communities alike. Teachers and teacher training staff are housed with local families and community members are invited to visit the courses. Appreciation of the hard work and dedication required of teachers in our program

and growing understanding of educational issues have been a direct result of this community-based program. Local and travelling counsellors work with the teachers between the courses and help them apply the theoretical knowledge acquired. This on-the-job training by counsellors is as important as the course work.

From the very beginning the commitment was made to give unilingual teachers access to this program rather than to restrict it to those able to study in a second language. This required the presence of interpreters at all course sessions. Very soon we realized that this system was not only time-consuming, but also inefficient since much of the message was often lost in translation. The bilingual teachers got frustrated having to listen to the course content twice. The interpreter not being a teacher could not always convey the subject matter clearly. And the qallunaaq instructor was very unsure of the feedback and often found that some of the course content and teaching methodology turned out to be inappropriate. Convinced that we would lose some of our strongest teachers and that the whole program would be weakened if we were to teach courses in the second language, we searched for a different solution.

The expertise of Native people in the areas of language, culture, and child rearing needs to be recognized. A teacher education program must include this expertise if it is to be culturally relevant. Instead of hiring interpreters we asked senior teachers and the first graduates to help qallunaaq instructors plan and develop the courses. The Inuit co-instructors are trained in planning sessions which are really mini-courses and they then teach with the qallunaaq consultant or in some areas instruct all of the course entirely in Inuktitut. This close collaboration between Inuit and qallunaaq has brought the expertise of both cultures together and it is a mutually beneficial and enriching experience.

It took about four years to re-develop all courses in the program and to make it truly northern and Inuit. Inuit instructors now deliver all courses and they get help from Inuit elders and qallunaaq experts whenever needed. Over two thirds of our graduates have had the experience of planning and instructing courses, usually in teams of two. One direct result of this involvement is a strong sense of responsibility to the teachers to be trained and to the whole program. Learning has become more than an exercise that benefits the individual. It carries with it the possibility to help others and to make an important contribution to the community. It also gives Inuit educators the opportunity to control their Teacher Training program. It is rare that a request to serve as instructor is turned down, even though it usually means the person concerned has to work extra long hours and often has to give up well deserved holidays. Thanks to the instructor training model our Teacher Training program is fully accessible to Inuit of all ages and from all settlements. Equally important, Inuktitut as a language capable of adapting to modern times, is legitimized through its use at the post-secondary level.

By 1980 consultation with Inuit instructors and teachers led to the expansion of the 30-credit program. More courses in child development and in special education were added and the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education was created, requiring 45 credits. At the same time as graduates receive the McGill Certificate, which gives them entry to the second year of the B.Ed. programs, they also receive the provincial teaching diploma.

Active involvement in curriculum development is an important part of our program. Experience in other education systems, both north and south, has shown that top down curriculum development is rarely efficient. While it may result in technically well produced books and

resource materials, these often stay on the shelves or are inappropriately used with a given group of students since the teachers were not involved in the development. Curriculum development through teachers has a much higher chance of meeting the needs of students. In the context of Teacher Training the development of materials and programs becomes an important training element. It encourages creativity and student observation, and it emphasizes the fact that any materials developed elsewhere must be adapted to the needs of a specific group of children. Likewise, it stresses the teacher's responsibility to find or create the right materials and teaching methods for his/her students and to provide an optimum learning environment for them.

With one year towards the B.Ed. finished, most graduates want to continue studying in order to obtain the Bachelor of Education degree. Once again we want to make sure that all those interested will be given the opportunity to attain this goal. We need to offer part-time courses at the second and third year level, again in a field-based pattern, and on a regular basis like the certificate program. We must develop new courses based on the perceived needs of Inuit educators, and design a northern B.Ed. profile over the next few years in full consultation with the Inuit teachers.

Following is an illustration of the process of developing new courses. One of our pedagogical counsellors has been very concerned about the split between school and community and she explored the general topic of values in the community and in the school in a tutorial course with an anthropologist. She then indicated that such a course should be offered to other Inuit educators and together with an Inuk co-instructor and the qallunaaq consultant the course was planned over a one week period. The instructors looked after the details of organizing the course in the following weeks and two months later a group of twelve Inuit educators came

together to participate in this course, called Community and Institutional Values in the North. Elders played an important role throughout the course as resource people and teachers. The contact between them and the younger teachers proved to be very enriching. The course was delivered almost entirely in Inuktitut and the qallunaaq consultant's role was one of evaluating the content of each day's session and of planning the following day with the Inuit instructors.

Another course which will be developed in Inuktitut this year deals with linguistics. A group of bilingual Inuit educators have just finished a course in Advanced Inuktitut given in English by a qallunaaq linguist. On the third day of the course several of the students expressed their concern that this course needed to be made accessible to their unilingual colleagues. Recognizing the need to eventually have an Inuktitut grammar written by Inuit linguists from an Inuit point of view, and true to our commitment to unilingual educators, we have decided to re-develop this course in Inuktitut with the help of this group of students and the qallunaaq consultant.

Developing courses along this pattern is, of course, more expensive in the short term than forcing Inuit educators through a southern profile where courses are already developed. The experience of Native teacher education programs which precede the Kativik-McGill program has shown, however, that southern profiles and programs exact an extremely high cost in human terms. They often lead to alienation of the student from his Native culture. Graduates of southern programs are handicapped in their efforts to develop a northern education system, since neither their course work nor their practice teaching prepares them for it. Often, their link with the northern community is greatly weakened due to their prolonged absence.

The development of B.Ed. level courses and of a northern B.Ed. profile is our most important project for the immediate future, since it will further strengthen the control Inuit have over their education system. We are confident that our government will recognize this and will give us the additional funding requested for it.

TEACHER TRAINING IN GREENLAND

Ingmar Egede

Ingmar Egede is the Rector of Ilinniarfissuaq, Greenland's Teacher Training Institute. He is a member of the Seminar Series Steering Committee.

Man is defined by his culture. In this context I will use the concept of culture as it has been defined by the Danish philosopher, Hartvig Frisch. Culture is the common habits that are shared by the inhabitants of a certain society.

As I understand this definition it means that we, the Inuit, sharing a broad variety of habits and values, belong to the same culture. To be more specific, look at the common roots in our languages. From East Greenland, across the North American continent, and into some of the eastern part of the Siberian North, we will see the same words defining members of family, tools and geographic issues. We have used the same means of transportation and we share common words for these means. Much of our folklore describes the same events, having the same genetic pool, distinct from other people. Besides, we all live north of the treeline and for thousands of years we have depended on the same species of game.

In more recent times we have been 'saved' by the same religion in different clothings. Our game has for centuries been exploited by the same economic forces from the south, and today we are threatened by the same environmental pressures from the outside world. We also share the

modern world's positive contributions to our society like literacy, medical treatment, modern communication networks, and the trappings of education and economic subsidies as they are offered by our different dominating societies.

My reason for drawing this picture of the cultural patterns we share is to underline our common ground; the common ground that makes it possible to draw upon the same considerations in education. We are not alone at this meeting as Inuit. Indians from Alaska and Canada are present, as are the Saami from Scandinavia. In spite of the differences in culture, the similarities in our respective histories have made it natural and possible to work together with the 'strangers' in this series of seminars. In each of our situations, the school is society's vehicle for transmitting knowledge, skills and values from one generation to the next.

I have promised to tell you about teacher education in Greenland. I will give you a short historical background for the somewhat complex situation we have today. The first teacher trainees in Greenland, two men, were enroled at our school in 1845. After four years they left Ilinniarfissuaq as teachers and catechists. For many years the main task for teachers and catechists was to teach people the ability to read the gospel, which in the middle of the 18th century had been translated to Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) by the missionaries.

In addition, within a few decades the Greenland Society offered exciting reading material through the periodical Atuagagdliutit with the subtitle Naliginarnik, meaning "Common Reading Materials". From the middle of the 19th century this periodical offered us illustrated, coloured descriptions of the outside world and accounts of journeys within Greenland. For example, Robinson Crusoe was printed in *extensio*. You could find accounts of shipwrecks on the coast

of Labrador; a report of the Danish princess Alexandra's wedding to an English prince; and stories of buffalo hunting on the North American plains, often with coloured illustrations. In this way reading became an important skill to master.

It is my impression that until the middle of this century educators and policy makers in Greenland had problems in defining "necessary knowledge"; that is, what the schools should teach the students. Reading their considerations, I see a reservation, an implicit "Don't tell them more than you can help." To be able to read the gospel was looked upon as a necessity and a human right, but with the limited possibilities in Greenland, too much knowledge could result in frustrations and unconstructive criticism among the Kalaallit. If we look at the curricula and the textbooks for the teacher trainees, we will see that the Holy Bible, the techniques of the church services, spelling, writing, calculating, and organ playing were the most important subjects dealt with. In addition, students spent a lot of time keeping the dormitories clean and warm, providing food for themselves, and doing services for their teachers.

From 1845 up to 1955, 411 teachers graduated from Ilinniarfissuaq. In this period all subjects were taught in Kalaallisut as most of the teaching staff were priests who had learned our language before their arrival to Greenland. The subject of Kalaallisut has always been taught by Greenlanders.

In this span of years every village and town was served by Kalaallisut speaking teachers. Though, from about 1930, the three main boarding schools at Aasiaat, Nuuk and Qaqortoq were exceptions as the principals and some of the teachers were Danes with limited skills in our language. The teachers and catechists from Ilinniarfissuaq played an important role from the very

beginning of schooling in Greenland. Illiteracy has been unknown in Greenland for more than a century.

Together with the education of teachers, the Royal Greenland Trading Company and the health service trained people at ground level. This meant that even in the smallest villages the schools, the trading posts, and the health services would be maintained by local Greenlandic teachers, managers, and midwives.

In the beginning of the movement for political self-determination, teachers played only a small and insignificant role. But with the growing complexity of society and with the local council's growing influence, people appreciated the teacher's skills and more and more teachers were elected to the political bodies. So, for more than a century, graduates from Ilinniarfissuaq have been carrying not only the schooling and the church work, but they have also played a significant role within policy and cultural life all over Greenland at both the local and national level.

For about 10 years after 1955, Ilinniarfissuaq suffered from the political ideology of that period. The main concept in the political development was normalization. This meant that Greenlanders should have the same opportunities as Danes, but on Danish conditions. The implication would have been that all future Native teachers would have had to go to Denmark to get their education. Ironically, seen from today's perspective, the training program's Kalaallisut language component was one of the factors that discouraged potential applicants. In those days the Danish language was looked upon as the main vehicle for the desired step into the modern world. At the same time the theoretical content of the curriculum could not compete with the

offerings available at the Danish colleges. The closing down of Ilinniarfissuaq was avoided through a new teacher training act for Greenland. The act was passed by the Danish Parliament in 1964. It was a duplicate of the Danish act, but the training was given in Nuuk, Greenland. It worked until 1979 and can in many ways be considered as a very successful act. Under this act about 270 teachers were graduated. Graduates of this period were accepted for teaching positions in Denmark without further examinations. As you will understand later, our present program in teacher education does not have the same appeal to our young people as had the program offered from 1964 to 1979. In this regard it is natural to ask why the teacher training program during these years was so attractive.

Through the years of political awakening, which resulted in the Home Rule Act of 1979, teacher training was the only theoretical education offered in Greenland. At that time many of our young people did not want to leave our country, and many applicants told us in interviews that they were not sure that they would use their certificate for teaching. The broad and human content of the teacher training program made it sufficient for other kinds of vocations.

In spite of its quantitative success, this act did not consider the needs of Greenland's school. As an example of this, I point out that the time given to the subject of Kalaallisut did not reflect the needs of a new development of the language within the student himself and of the language as a subject as well. Therefore, during the late 1970s a new act was prepared. This new Teacher Education Act of October 1979 was one of the first acts to be passed by the Home Rule Government. Naturally our co-existence with Denmark since the 1720s has been reflected in the educational system in Greenland. So, to characterize Greenlandic education since 1979 for this forum will first require some information on the traditions of teacher training in Denmark.

In Denmark a teacher is trained to, and is expected to teach students at all levels from grade 1 to grade 10. The local school boards can decide if they want academic streaming of students or not or a generalized approach in the main subjects from grade 7 up. Most schools have opted not to stream students by ability. I will call this type of school the undivided comprehensive school. Most school boards choose the generalized approach. The philosophy behind this is that you want to teach gifted and not gifted students together. Studies have shown that the academically gifted students do not suffer from being taught together with not so gifted peers, while the latter suffer significantly when taught in classes separate from their more gifted peers. One consequence of this policy is that you will want to have a key teacher for every class in school, a so-called home class teacher, who is expected to cover the teaching of the mother-tongue and several other subjects in his own class. In addition, he is expected to take care of practicalities concerning his class and its social life. To make time for these activities, an hour a week is made available to each class.

This kind of school requires a kind of teacher that you are not familiar with within the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Teacher education in the Danish tradition has to be very broad in terms of subject content. In addition, trainees have to develop a deeper knowledge into at least two subjects and must specialize in one general area of pedagogy: special education, teaching in the youngest grades or teaching adolescent students.

The entrance level to the Danish colleges of education is the same as to universities. The teacher education program takes four years and qualifies graduates to teach at all grades up to grade ten. A broad range of post graduate supplementary courses covering all subjects, and education in general, are offered all over the country to ensure the continual upgrading of teachers'

qualifications. The concept and the practice of mainstreaming in the undivided comprehensive school is widely accepted in Greenland. From this follows that teacher education in Greenland will fundamentally reflect Danish traditions. Among the assumptions on which the Act of 1979 rests are:

(i) The use of Danish teachers who do not master Greenlandic and the use of Danish textbooks have impaired the student teacher's knowledge and use of their mother-tongue. This means that the subject, Kalaallisut, must have a high priority in teacher education.

(ii) For many years to come a large number of Danish teachers will still be working in Greenland schools. It is important that the qualifications of Greenlandic Native teachers must not be too different from their Danish colleagues. The Greenlandic teacher must have the same professional knowledge and skills as his Danish colleagues. This means that the theoretical level in Greenlandic teacher education cannot be lower than the Danish. This requires entry qualifications and a duration of studies not less than the Danish.

(iii) Teachers must be able to teach at large city schools where there is a high degree of specialization among the staff, and at small village schools with few staff members who must therefore be able to cover a wide range of subjects.

(iv) A common criticism of teacher education in both Greenland and Denmark has been that too many graduates, when they began their careers, would suffer from what has been called reality shock. We have tried to overcome this problem through the introduction of several short teaching practicums in addition to the standard year-long practicum.

As our modern Greenlandic society is young, we are not inhibited by long and heavy educational traditions. It is easier to make major changes than it is in older societies. We have learned that

this is both a virtue and a weakness. Even though since 1979 Greenlandic teacher education has reflected the Danish tradition, it also differs in many ways. For example, teaching practice periods have been introduced, with 2 weeks, 3 weeks, 1 full year, and 4 weeks during the four respective years of the education. The first year's practice period of two weeks is primarily considered as an observational period where small groups of students get their first impression of the classroom seen from the point of view of a teacher.

The second year three-week practicum is planned as a teaching experience where students in groups of three, together with their tutor, have to plan, carry out and evaluate their teaching through 20 lessons a week.

The full third year is spent at a school somewhere in Greenland where the trainee on his own will have to be responsible for 13 to 15 lessons a week. During this year the trainee is a normal staff member with the obligations and the rights of a common teacher. In addition, the trainee will have five lessons a week under tutorship. These five lessons are planned, taught and evaluated together with the tutor.

Through the four-week practicum in the fourth year of the program, students work in groups of two with a tutor. The tutor's contribution in this period will ideally be more like a qualified colleague's observations which will give background for evaluative discussions on planning, teaching proper and on the final evaluation. This sequence of practice periods seems to eliminate most of the problem of reality shock noted earlier.

When students return to the college after the one-year practicum, their motivation and their understanding of the goals of education are very high. Their behaviour in class is close to that of post-graduates coming back to college for a brush-up course. Another virtue of the full year's practice is that our students, after this year, will bring new knowledge about the actual state of the public school to the college.

In traditional teacher training, psychology, methodology, didactics and pedagogy are traditionally taught as separate subjects. The assumption is that, in one way or another, these elements will contribute to the shaping of the teacher's personality. However, our experience tells us that the subject will be taught per se without consideration of the students' actual needs, and that teachers will tend to be semi-academic in approach and thus will not necessarily contribute to the students' education as intended.

Therefore, in the act of 1979, the subject of education is described under nine headings covering the whole range of topics from the pre-school child to the adolescent student, special education, motivation, learning and the legal base of the educational system. Topics relating to these nine headings are integrated into the content of the major components of the teacher education program: psychology, didactics, methodology and pedagogy. This integration of different subjects is a common trend in the educational practice under this legislation. For periods of one semester the subjects of Kalaallisut, Danish, and Mathematics are taught by two teachers, one who normally teaches the subject and one teacher from the Department of Education. In this way the students can deal with a certain theme or topic from the perspective of the subject and from the perspective of an educational theorist. These periods seem to be very productive for both the students and the teacher involved.

Biology, geography, science, history, social science and eskimology are not taught as independent subjects but are pulled together under two headings, nature orientation and society orientation. The assumption is that the students, through their senior high school, have acquired sufficient knowledge in the basic subjects. What they are supposed to learn is how to teach their students to gather knowledge useful to the common citizen. In other words they are supposed to build up a learning potential in themselves and in their students.

At the time the 1979 Teacher Education Act was passed, Greenland experienced an educational boom. We stopped sending junior college students to Denmark in the late 70's. These young people are now offered all their schooling in Greenland. Five vocational schools, a small university, and a journalism school are now offering schooling in Greenland. At the university, Ilisimatusarfik, students can study Inuit languages, social science and theology. The journalism school has been operating in Greenland for several years. It trains journalists for the printed press, the radio and TV. The vocational schools offer skills within construction, mechanics, food production, seamanship and business. In addition to these schools which are run by the Greenland government, the Danish government has been training police officers and nurse-aids in Greenland for many years. And further, if the training they want is not offered in Greenland, qualified applicants can study in Denmark. In this way the educational monopoly our teacher training college has enjoyed for more than a century has been broken, a development we appreciate.

With the introduction of Home Rule, the Labour Organization was able to succeed in raising the wages for its member. Because of these wage increases many occupations levelled with or passed the teacher's wages and, consequently, the attractiveness of a teaching career faded. We offered

an education of high quality, but the competition from other exciting and better paid jobs seriously limited the number of students applying for teacher training at our college. For several years too few applicants entered teacher education. At the same time the shortage of Greenlandic teachers became more and more evident. So, in 1983 our politicians tried to make the training more attractive by shortening the education by one year. Small cuts in the content of the program were made but the overall content of the program was not reduced or revised.

This meant that our students only had one year to prepare themselves for the one-year teaching practice. They had only two years to study subjects planned for a three-year program. This resulted in long days at school, and little time for contemplation and personal development. The three-year program never gave the students an opportunity to develop good study habits. It produced defeated students, without the self-confidence necessary for personal growth, and without the success on which you can build the next step to success. Under this program we only have our students one year at a time, and the students will never meet fellow students they know from the previous year. Program continuity in every field suffers from this fact.

The staff at Ilinniarfissuaq reluctantly agreed upon the idea of shortening the program to three years, and warned in vain against cutting one year from the program without a proportional cut in program content. The three year program has been operating for three years. Our politicians misjudged our young people's common sense. Young people want quality in education. This was reflected in the fact that the reduction to program length did not produce an increase in numbers of applicants to the teacher education program.

Notes: Since this paper was written there have been two important developments.

Teacher's wages have recently been raised by up to 25%, and in the meantime training allowances have been regulated. This should contribute to an increase in the number of students in the coming years.

In the spring of 1988 the Greenland Landsting decided that the teacher training program should go back to the four year format effective August 1988.

As we live under the influence of two cultures, we have to be very aware of what we pass to the next generation. We have to make careful choices in what we actively introduce from the outside world. On the other hand, it seems to me to be just as difficult to make choices from our own cultural heritage. Values of great importance through generations in our past may not be worth carrying into the next century, while the loss of other values may be a serious threat to our identity. Our problem is to be able to differentiate.

I have noticed that the concept of cultural classes are widely used and appreciated in North America. In Greenland we have decided to put more emphasis on the language, assuming that its retention and development will provide a vehicle for our culture into the future. I am happy to say that Kalaallisut is the main language in most Greenland homes. Hunting techniques and related topics are taught in some schools, but the task of maintaining and developing our hunting culture is more the responsibility of the parents and the society outside the school.

In many ways this arrangement seems to work. In the years since Home Rule, an independent Greenlandic political identity has been developing. The first volume of the history of Greenland

has been published this winter. It describes the first half of the 20th century seen from a Greenlandic perspective, and gives us our own heroes. Naturally this history is written in Kalaallisut.

Cultural activities of many different kinds are blooming. For example, the use of the kayak in sporting events is spreading; modern music of the rock and roll kind but with a special Greenlandic tone is developing; young people and elders have for more than 10 years met at summer camps - at the Aasiviit - to discuss our social problems and political matters. At these camps hundreds of people enjoy themselves for a couple of weeks without alcohol.

Many other activities could be mentioned, but one is of great importance: our mother-tongue, which has been threatened for many years, is going through a fast development and is fast becoming a tool for the professions of today and as a vehicle for modern Greenlandic Inuit life.

Still, we have problems. The outside world, which we have used a lot of strength and patience to learn to cope with, is changing very fast. The schooling and education we are offering our young people are only beneficial for rather small groups. Too many students do not fully use their potential and are unable to benefit from what is offered at school. Our survival as Inuit is dependant on how we cope with problems like the shortage of Native teachers, the disruption of family life, the effect of alcohol on our society, venereal diseases, the lack of economic independence, and the lack of cooperation between schools and parents, to name just a few.

Within the limited time available, I have tried to give you an impression of what we do, I have tried to illustrate the thoughts behind our teacher training programs, and I have described some

of our problems. I hope that some of the factual information will be useful for you. I know that some of the assumptions under which we work will be different from yours, but I believe that they can be useful to your considerations.

I begun my paper by saying that man is defined by his culture. Within the culture we share our history and our language, and we share a broad variety of common knowledge, skills, and habits. In this way we can live a comfortable and secure life, knowing what to expect from others. Through this phenomenon, our common culture, other people's behaviour becomes predictable and we feel confident and secure. In a balanced society, when we meet unpredictable behaviour, it will mostly be handled through humour and creativity. If this continuity in common habits is broken due to cultural disruption and confusion, our culture is threatened.

In the last few years I have noticed that we too often meet unpredictable behaviour among our young people, not through humorous expressions or unexpected creativity, but in non-understandable and disruptive ways. We have all seen self-destructive and asocial behaviour such as alcoholism, drug abuse, suicide, violence and wanton destruction of property. In addition we also have experienced and seen conflicts between the generations. I see these experiences as symptoms of the pressures our culture is experiencing. Too many of our young people are suffering from cultural confusion, so we had better find more successful and giving ways of bringing up the next generation. An appropriate teacher training, founded on our culture but incorporating western skills and values is the most efficient and important means to create a modern Inuit culture through which our uniqueness as Inuit can survive.

I see seminars like this one in Iqaluit, where we can learn from each other, where we can hear about each other's goals, dreams and mistakes, as important means for developing new perspectives in our work as educators and policy makers.

ASPECTS OF SAAMI TEACHER TRAINING IN NORWAY

Jan Henry Keskitalo

Jan Henry Keskitalo is the Rector of the Teachers' College at Alta, Norway, Chairman of the National Board for Saami Education, and a member of the National Board for Cultural Affairs. He has been involved with the Circumpolar Seminars on Education since their inception in 1976. In his presentation Jan Henry examines some aspects of the training of Saami teachers in the Norwegian teacher training system, and looks ahead to the establishment of the new Saami College of Education at Kautokeino.

Saami Identity

Factors constituting a Saami identity are mainly cultural and social, and include the individual's subjective identification with these factors. Knowledge and use of Saami language plays an important role, but even this criteria changes from one area to another.

In primary education, language is the only factor taken into consideration by the laws of education, but in itself language is not a sufficient criteria on which to develop sound educational programs.

There are schools where the Saami language is both the first and the second language. Establishing the latter kind of schools is primarily based on geographical criteria, self-identification and history, rather than language. Also the parents occupation and a certain type of religious affiliation are used as identifying factors, but again one should stress the differences

between different areas and types of societies where Saami live. Relevant factors of both external and internal identification change from place to place. There are differences in the structure of the society, and differences in occupation. The individual's knowledge and use of the Saami language changes. So does the economy. Of course, the history, the present situation and thoughts about the future differ from area to area. All these factors affect Saami identity today. A transcultural process has been going on caused by contact between the Saami and the majority population of northern Scandinavia.

All applicants for special Saami programs in education must actively identify themselves as Saami. In some areas they also have to apply for such a program. Establishing a program, or attending such a program depends on an active process. Both parents and teacher have to fight a system which does not understand the necessity of Saami education programs. One should mention, however, that this situation has been experiencing some positive changes during the last few years. The most important change, with regard to individual and group identification, is towards local curriculums designed on guidelines for Saami primary education.

In 1972, the Nordic Saami Conference proclaimed a Saami cultural program as follows:

> We are Saamis and we intend to remain Saamis. We are neither more nor less than other peoples of the world. We are a people with a common area of settlement, our own language, and cultural and social organization of our own.

Throughout the course of history we have lived our lives in Saami Eadnan (Saamiland). We possess a culture which we wish to expand and develop.

We have experienced how the land where we and our forefathers have lived has been taken from

us; how that land has declined and been deprived of its wealth. We have been pushed aside. Strangers have taxed us, strangers have lied to us, and strangers have divided our people with their own national boundaries. We have experienced the decline of our traditions and our customs and our way of life, which have been taken from us and replaced with alien ways.

We are one people with a common language, a common history, and a common culture, and we have a strong sense of solidarity. We found ourselves on previous generations, whilst we live and work in the present for the generations to come.

Only when our position has been assured legally can our culture develop fully. Consequently, we demand:

(i) that the Saami be given a legal status as an indigenous people.

(ii) that the customary rights of the Saami to land and water be confirmed by acts of parliament.

(iii) that Saami livelihoods be protected by laws and regulations.

(iv) that the Saami language be given the status of an official language.

(v) that the Saami order of society and Saami representative bodies be officially recognized.

(vi) that Saami tradition, history, art, knowledge and language be preserved and taught to our descendants through schools and other means.

(vii) to live in peaceful coexistence with our neighbours, and support and promote world peace, basing ourselves on our traditional values.

This program is entirely in accordance with the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. (charta 79, p.3).

The School System in Norway

The school system starts with a compulsory basic school for children aged 7 through 15. The basic school is divided into different stages, a six-year lower stage and a three year upper stage. The 9-year school is a completely comprehensive school. It is compulsory and rather decentralized, with a large number of small units.

An academic upper secondary school covers different areas like General Studies and Clerical and Commercial Subjects. Besides these areas, different combinations of study are available. All studies at the upper secondary school level are voluntary.

Primary education has been established as if the population is culturally homogeneous. The Saami population and their needs had to be adjusted to the educational system in order to have an opportunity to benefit from it. This system had relatively strong regulations in terms of curriculum. The subjects in the curriculum were compulsory as was school attendance. This system was established as a rather bureaucratic organization, with a hierarchy on each level and with the child, who had no influence on the system, at the bottom. Within this hierarchy little consideration was given to the needs of the child.

The history of the colleges of education follows the history and the structure of primary education. Changes in the philosophy of primary education, though occurring slowly are reflected in teacher training programs. Sometimes the changes are just written changes, not changes in the real sense. Changing the attitudes and practices of professional staffs takes time.

This situation has changed in some respects. The primary education system in Norway has changed from a highly structured organization waiting for information, decisions and regulations from a central authority, to an organization responsible, thinking and acting on a professional basis at each local school. The curriculum has changed to a model plan at the national level describing some frames. Within these frames each municipality has to define their own goals, make their local curriculums, and decide on a working program. Each school must also do this. This changes the role of the school as an organization. It also changes the role of the teacher. Here are some changes that seem to take place:

- From a single planner and actor, to planning and teaching in teams.
- From planning single subjects and working with single subjects, to planning and working, to integrate subjects and processes.
- From following plans, to making choices and decisions about plans.
- From inspecting a culture, to creating a culture.
- From using the local culture as a curiosity, to using the local culture as a basis for thinking and acting.

How does the system respond to these new ideas?

(i) Improvements in school programs are established and created by each single local school.

(ii) The school board of the municipality has to make plans and schedules to allow these changes to progress.

(iii) The municipality is responsible for training teachers for their new roles.

(iv) The region (inspectors of education and colleges of education) is responsible for the training of special staff members for each municipality, who are then used at the local level as instructors.

(v) At the national level the different councils of education (including the Saami Education Council) are responsible for course instructors for the different regions.

This brings us to the question about what role do the colleges of education play in all of this. Here it is useful to consider what kind of Native teachers we need to realize the new ways of teaching. Referring to Saami education one could use the following criteria to describe a Native teacher:

(i) A Native teacher speaks the Native or local language fluently and also speaks the other language(s) of the community.

(ii) Besides fluency in oral skills, the teacher masters the writing systems of the language and is trained in teaching methodology.

(iii) The teacher has developed a knowledge of and understanding of culture, cultural processes, society and societal changes through experience and/or studies, and is able to know how the Native populations and others respond to changes or create changes.

(iv) The teacher is well trained and certificated (formally or really) in the different subjects of the curriculum.

(v) The teacher is trained and certified in the different areas of pedagogy.

Teacher Training

Teacher training for primary and secondary schools is regulated by the Teacher Training Act of 1975. Teachers are divided into following categories:

(i) kindergarten (pre-school) teacher

(ii) teacher of general subjects

(iii) special subject teachers

(iv) teachers of vocational subjects.

All categories of teachers are divided into three levels of educational qualifications: (teacher, adjunct and lecturer) awarded on the basis of 3, 4 and 6 to 7 years of university training. The courses are based on various training units, lasting from a quarter of a year up to one year (at the colleges of education) and up to one and a half or two years (university studies). The basic training programs at colleges of education are all of three years duration. There are additional courses lasting up to one or two years for teachers who want to improve their qualifications.

Saami Teacher Training Program

The Saami teacher training program at Alta College of Education is responsible for training Saami who speak the northern Saami dialect. During the year of 1987-88 the college will offer these program alternatives:

(i) a three year program for the classroom teacher certificate.

(ii) a four year part-time program for classroom teachers giving the same competence as the first one, combined with a part-time position as ordinary teacher up to 1/3 of full position.

(iii) a three year program for kindergarten teachers.

(iv) a four year part-time program for kindergarten teachers combined with up to 1/3 position as kindergarten-assistant.

In each of these different programs a Saami student has to go through the following courses:

(i) At least a half year course in Saami language, history and literature.

(ii) A quarter of a year course in Norwegian as a second language.

(iii) A quarter of a year course in religion.

(iv) A number of free choice specialization courses.

(v) A one year course in pedagogics, including practising as classroom teacher.

(vi) A quarter of a year course in at least one of the following subjects: music, physical training or other aesthetic or practical subjects.

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PART III

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AT KATIVIK SCHOOL BOARD

Nellie Palliser Moorhouse, Pedagogical Counsellor, Inuttitut.
Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk, Elder.
Sarah Grey, Pedagogical Counsellor, Teacher Training.
Betsy Annahatak, Pedagogical Counsellor, Teacher Training.
Renee Carrier, Coordinator, Second Language Programs.

There are about 6,000 Inuit in northern Quebec, and Kativik School Board is serving 14 different communities on the Ungava and Hudson Bays. We have a student population of 2,035 and a teaching staff of 208.

Children begin their schooling in Inuttitut and when they reach Grade 3, they have a choice between French and English as a second language of instruction. There are three languages of instruction in all our schools, with the exception of two communities, where the instruction is given in Inuttitut and English.

Curriculum Development in Inuttitut

All our programs and teaching materials are the product of close collaboration between teachers, pedagogical counsellors, elders and qallunaat (non-Inuit) consultants. Teachers help us set priorities, contribute their ideas, make materials, and try out experimental editions with their students. Elders provide us with their knowledge and experience. We have graphic arts technicians who illustrate our materials and look after the technical side of production and we get help from qallunaat resource people and pedagogical counsellors in subject areas like mathematics, science and reading.

Consultation between all these groups goes on throughout the development work. The language

committee made up of elders, language teachers, and pedagogical counsellors, checks all productions and also plays an important role in the creation of new terminology. Their input has been crucial in the development of our mathematics program.

We wanted to create an Inuttitut Mathematics program for Kindergarten, Grades 1 and 2, that would be rooted in the Inuttitut language. Instead of translating general concept terms and terminology, we worked through the language committee hoping thus to discover the "chunks" of the Inuttitut language relating to mathematical ideas and concepts. Several workshops with the language committee were needed to find the appropriate terminology. The Grade 1 programmed was worked on first and is now ready for trial teaching. Most activities are illustrated as a first step to learning. The Kindergarten and Grade 2 programs are still being worked on.

Activities and materials used in the Inuttitut mathematics programs are the foundation of the mathematics programs developed in French and English for the upper primary levels. Our mathematics consultant and the pedagogical counsellor for the French and English mathematics programs have worked closely with the team developing the Kindergarten, Grade 1 and 2 programs. Through this cooperative effort we hope to have created a mathematics curriculum that progresses smoothly from Kindergarten to Grade 6 and from Inuttitut to French or English.

The Grade 1 and 2 Inuttitut Science Program is also being developed through a series of workshops with teachers and pedagogical counsellors. The science counsellor responsible for the primary curriculum in French and English is organizing these development workshops and there, too, we want to create a solid basis for later work in second language. We hope to have experimental editions going into all Grade 1 and 2 classes during the coming year.

The Inuttitut Reading Program for Kindergarten, Grades 1 and 2 stresses a visual approach to learning. When Kativik started, the teachers used a method whereby students had to learn individual syllabics first. Some of the teachers were concerned that it took the students too long to become fluent and during a teacher training session they discussed this concern with a qallunaaq reading specialist. Out of this consultation came the development of a program that builds on the strong visual memory of Inuit children. Students are right away introduced to words containing two syllabics. We cover the total syllabarium through words and only later in Grade 2 will students be asked to know individual syllabics separately, at a time when the reversal problems common to young children have usually diminished.

Teaching materials and resource books have also been created for the Grade 3 to Secondary 5 levels where Inuttitut is taught as a subject and where students also follow culture classes. They cover the general topics of weather, animals, human anatomy, family relationships, legends, songs, orthography and grammar, and sewing.

The language and culture teachers have also participated in the development of guidelines, teaching manuals, and report cards. Much work remains to be done, however, since great gaps still exist in many subject areas and at all upper primary and secondary levels.

Curriculum Development in Second Language (French or English)

In Quebec, the only programs available are the Ministry of Education guidelines. Since these guidelines are only meant for French or English mother-tongue instruction, Kativik School Board decided years ago to develop its own curriculum. We are aiming for the same standards as the other school boards, but in a second language approach and with material relevant to the milieu. Grade 3 being the first year in a second language, a lot of effort is put on oral expression and gradually, the children begin reading and writing. From Grade 3 to Secondary 5 all subjects are

taught in second language except for some periods of Inuttitut and culture which are taught throughout these levels.

The Primary French Language of Instruction Program is close to completion and is called "Frannord". It offers material for reading, writing, listening and speaking. Grade 8 and 9 programs have also been completed and the Grade 10 program will be ready for presentation at our 1987 pedagogical days in October.

KESL, a Primary English Second Language Program has been developed. It entails a list of objectives and a resource book of activities for teachers and students. Next year, we will start working on the Secondary English Program. We are using a communicative approach and trying as much as possible to integrate all subjects.

The development of our Primary Mathematics Program has just been completed. It is essentially based on manipulation. In order to understand and acquire concepts, the children are doing a lot of manipulation. The Grade 7 program is made up of a student workbook and summarizes all primary activities. Some material has also been created for construction and shapes, using colours that already exist in the Inuit culture such as grey and purple. We are very proud of this program which in fact is very good, but the manipulation part is very demanding for the teachers, especially in multi-level classes. We are now developing an activity or exercise book for each level to enable teachers to do manipulation with one group of students while the other group is working by itself. At the secondary level, the Grade 8 program has been field-tested this year and the Grade 9 program will soon be completed.

Our Primary Science Program is now complete. It enables children to discover and learn science through a practical and active approach as opposed to merely listening to the subject in a passive

way. The program must be good because many other school boards have ordered copies for their own schools.

At the Secondary level, Ecology has been completed for Grade 8, Home Economics for Grade 9, Introduction to Technology for Grades 10 and 11, and Introduction to Computer Science and Economics for Grade 12.

During 1987-88, program development priorities will be English, General History, Mathematics, Career Choice and Geography at the Secondary level.

Since we have started using our own programs, we have noticed that the students are reading and writing better in the second language. Consultants are writing programs, while working in close collaboration with teachers and pedagogical counsellors. The first step in program development is to elaborate a working document. The program is then field-tested for one year in two or three schools or in all schools depending on the content and on teacher involvement. At the end of the year an evaluation is done with the teachers and the necessary corrections are made. The program is then tested for a second year. After a second evaluation and correction, a final version is written out followed by a better quality of printing. We are now in the process of having some of our programs accepted by the Quebec Ministry of Education and hope to be able to continue our curriculum development.

A lot of time, energy, resources and money are involved but as a school board, we feel it is worthwhile for the students. We also believe that the participation of teachers in curriculum development is essential if we want to create strong programs.

THE SWAN SONG OF AN EXPERT

S.T. Mallon

Mick Mallon is a well known northern educator and an internationally recognized expert on Inuktitut linguistics. During his time in the Northwest Territories, Mallon was Principal of the Eskimo Language School, Director of the Linguistic Programs Division and Director of EATEP's Bilingual Education Project. He is now a free-lance consultant and lives in Victoria.

This is an international cross-cultural gathering, so let me begin by explaining the meaning of my title. In our culture the swan is a beautiful bird which, just before its death, gives voice to one last beautiful song before it disappears from human ken. I am not a swan, but I am a member of another endangered species on the eagerly awaited verge of extinction ... the southern expert who dabbles in Arctic matters. This is my swan song.

Let me be more specific. Two years ago I was responsible for all the Inuktitut linguistic courses given at EATEP, the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program here in Iqaluit. There are three courses: one each in Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax. I resigned on April 16, 1986, and work as a consultant. The Phonology course is now entirely the responsibility of Naullaq Arnaquq, an Inuk member of the EATEP staff. Naullaq wants me to co-teach the Morphology course with her the next time it is given: after that I will be superfluous for that course also. The Syntax course is a new one, given for the first time in February 1987: I can sing that song a little longer.

This seems to me to be a fairly satisfactory state of affairs, a process of decolonialization proceeding amicably on schedule. I thought it might be interesting for you if I retraced the somewhat fortuitous series of events that have led to the present situation.

1969: Eskimo Language School

It started in 1969. The federal government established the Eskimo Language School in Rankin Inlet, and put me in charge of it. The students were mostly white civil servants who wanted to learn Inuktitut, with an exotic sprinkling of linguists, sociologists, missionaries and occasionally a writer or two. I will resist the temptation to delve into the history of that institution, and get back on track by dealing with one of its serendipitous side-effects, the participation of Inuit, first as informants (an unfortunate word, sounds like an IRA target), and then as co-instructors.

We had two types of Inuit assistants. The most colourful were the older unilingual ladies. Let me detour for a moment on their behalf. As a result of working with them I know why northern Native cultures place so much emphasis on the value of elders. It is not just the knowledge they contribute, it is also their sheer joie de vivre. I sympathize deeply with the ladies who spoke earlier in this meeting, who wanted a little more recognition, respect and practical assistance from the Education Department for the so-called cultural inclusion instructors. We tried for years through EATEP and through the Teacher Certification Board to get that recognition, fruitlessly.

The other class of assistants were young bilingual Inuit. To begin with, I used these young people just as drill assistants, and then as drill masters on their own. The course was typical of its time, lots of pattern practice, dialogue work, heavily guided conversation. However, the development of these young people did not stop there. People like Marie Uviluq, Basil Kiblakoot, Jose Kusugaq, Annie Tattuinie (now Annie Ford) and others were not content to act as

programmed automata. They became interested in the analysis that lay behind the drills, they stayed on to listen to the phonological and grammatical explanations, they questioned, they challenged, they contributed. Several of them have gone on to work in fields connected with language. It was here that I became aware that at least some young Inuit had a vital interest in the intricacies of their language.

1976: Curriculum Interlude

In 1976 there was a brief four year interlude during which I was involved in curriculum work in Inuktitut and the Dene languages; another fascinating story which I am not going to stray into.

1980: EATEP

In 1980 I parachuted (metaphorically) into what was then Frobisher Bay as Director in charge of the recently formed Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program. This should have been my chance to start teaching Inuktitut linguistics to Inuit students, but I held back. There were two reasons for this. One was my natural diffidence as a boss to impose what could have been seen as a personal hobby-horse on a captive audience. The other was my natural diffidence as a non-native to expose myself to ridicule from students for my temerity. Eventually I did take the plunge, partly because of the urging of one of our former ISL students who insisted that Inuit students had a right to the information I had been imparting in second language classes. The courses were well enough received that they became part of the curriculum. As usual, there was, and is, a fair amount of revision and rewriting and reordering necessary, but gradually they took coherent shape.

By this stage David Wilman and I were working closely to produce a closely integrated course of studies for EATEP. Jack Cram of McGill had come on the scene, and with his help EATEP was able to benefit from McGill's connection with the Kativik School Board of Northern Quebec to

obtain accreditation for our courses, including the three linguistic courses, the third of which, as you will remember from above, had a long gestation period. As things now stand (June 1987) the Phonology course occurs at the beginning of the first year of the program, the Morphology course occurs about February in the second year, and the Syntax course is available in that peculiar third year that the Department of Education cannot bring itself to recognize.

Standards and Comparisons

Now I want to touch on a delicate subject, the question of standards and marks. I won't waste your time by beating about the bush. One of the first problems we faced when we started to set up EATEP in its present form was the widespread perception that a Native training program would have to be one where standards would inevitably be lax, where academic compromises would of course have to be made because of the low level of achievement of the students. This perception existed: it was dealt with in the 1982 Special Report on Education: Learning, Tradition and Change. Furthermore, we had two types of student, and the second type was particularly vulnerable to this kind of criticism. The first type of student we receive is the typical high school graduate, who at the age of eighteen thinks that maybe she would like to be a teacher, and embarks hesitantly upon a training program. The second type of student, the one for whom we revamped our entire schedule, is the classroom assistant, hired as a para-professional and until 1981 given a training program that did not lead towards teacher certification. These students are often mature women with families, who by the time they have earned enough credits to enter the second year of EATEP will have had at least two years of practical supervised experience in the classroom. They are the salt of the earth, and they usually do not have high school graduation.

You can see our dilemma. We had to achieve credibility for our programs, but we had to start where our students were. This is how we attempted to solve the problem. Our courses are as

practical as possible, with lots of teaching drills. They are geared closely to the NWT curricula, and to actual conditions in Eastern Arctic classrooms. The pace is intense. The classes are small. The instructors are aware of the daily progress and individual problems of each student. There is constant feedback. By the way, in a rapid survey like this, it is easy to give the impression that there are no problems in our courses. Believe me there are, but there is no time to go into them.

Am I suggesting, for example, that the Phonology course, one of the first given our new students, is in every way comparable to an introductory linguistic course given in the education faculty at a southern university campus? No, I am not. Here is where we have to delve into the accreditation policies of McGill University. In the first two years of their training our students are enroled in a 60 credit Certificate course, the Certificate in Native and Northern Education. When they move on into our third year, the one the NWT Education Department can't seem to focus on, they enter a degree program, the 90 credit B. Ed. program for Certificated teachers. This is where it gets complicated. McGill will only permit students to import 30 credits into a degree program, whether those credits are earned at another university or in one of McGill's own certificate programs. In effect, therefore, those 60 certificate credits go through a kind of 50% currency devaluation as the student enters a degree program. So now you can see why I am not suggesting that the Phonology course is in every way comparable to an introductory linguistics course in a conventional faculty of education. I am claiming, however, that it is a very rigorous introductory certificate course. Furthermore, the Morphology course, given halfway through the second year, is proportionately more rigorous.

What about the Syntax course? The first time we offered it, in February of this year, 1987, it was given to three of our most experienced students. It was more like a seminar than a course, as I was kept busy rewriting and reformulating rules as the course progressed. I don't have any

qualms about its validity: qualms about the depth of my knowledge perhaps, but no qualms about the validity of the course.

I have also taught a conventional introductory linguistics course to third year students at EATEP. Now there is a disquieting fact that emerges here. We have had A students from our courses go down to McGill and barely scrape through linguistic courses offered there. Why? There are two possibilities:

(i) Southern courses are more demanding logistically.

(ii) Southern courses are more demanding intellectually.

Let's consider logistics. I have described the way our courses are run above. In a southern course there may be 200 or so students. Lectures may be once or twice a week. The lecturer is not available for tutoring: graduate assistants are, but it is up to the students to recognize and define their problems and then seek these strangers out. There is no feedback, no daily tests to find out areas of weakness: you do four weeks of phonology, take the phonology test, and move on to morphology. This is a much heavier logistic load on the student than the one imposed in Iqaluit. We give tests that are based on those given in Montreal, with allowance made for our emphasis on Inuktitut rather than English, but we give more individual preparation for the tests. Is this spoon-feeding? Or is it a legitimate adjustment to linguistic, cultural and academic differences? As Jack Cram always used to point out, no number of grade 12 credits will equate the knowledge of Native language and culture that are a pre-requisite to congruent teaching in the northern classroom.

Incidentally, we have brought McGill instructors into Iqaluit to observe and participate in our courses, including those in linguistics. We do want the parent body to be aware of our approach, and to let us know if there are misgivings about it.

I have not said enough to provide a definitive answer to the question of standards, and their objective relationship to cultural reality. It is an ongoing debate, not only here but with Kativik and in Labrador, where I was privileged to observe a chapter unfold two months ago at a meeting in North West River. The debate has to continue, but it is not a debate that is enriched by hasty off-the-cuff remarks, no matter how eminent the issuer.

Further developments

EATEP is not the only place where linguistic courses are developing. The Language Bureau of the Government of the NWT started last year to offer these courses to their interpreters. So far three Phonology courses and one Morphology course have been given. Kativik has given their own linguistic courses for years. In February 1987, immediately after the Syntax course in Iqaluit, I flew to Salluit in Arctic Quebec and gave a similar course to a group of senior Kativik students. At this point there comes another aside. Back in 1980 I made determined efforts to model EATEP on Kativik. I failed, for a number of reasons. I am now convinced that it was a good thing that I failed. Kativik and EATEP have evolved differently. There is a different atmosphere to the courses in the two institutions, despite the close similarity in their situations. This diversity is fascinating to experience, especially if you fly directly from one environment to the other. I think the Arctic world is richer for this kind of diversity, and I wish that centralized government departments would recognize the reality of diversity inside their own areas of jurisdiction. If they did, we just might not need Nunavut ... maybe.

Opposition

Linguistics is a dry and arid word, and is often considered a dry and arid subject. What has continually amazed me is the fascination shown by Inuit students as the regularity and logic of their language unfolds to them. Some of them have transferred this enthusiasm to pupils at the senior elementary or high school levels. Despite that, we find opposition to the idea of teaching

the structure of Inuktitut as a regular school subject. The opposition comes from non-native curriculum specialists based 1700 miles away with no knowledge of the language they are issuing directives for. It is based on the mid 20th century English teacher's distaste for "grammar", a distaste which has its roots in a reaction against the accidental dominance for several centuries of a corrupt and inaccurate Latinate influence. Thus the reasonable acceptance of a logical subject is blocked by historical prejudices from an alien tradition.

There is opposition from another quarter. Surprisingly enough, one of the most frustrating sessions I have had as an enthusiast for Inuktitut linguistics was with a group of northern scientists. In the next section I will be developing a logical argument for considering linguistics to have intrinsic value as a scientific subject. Unfortunately the scientists I was trying to convince were mostly unilingual anglophones: the blinkers imposed by that disability were impervious to the light of reason.

What then are the reasons for teaching Inuktitut linguistics to students?

(i) The first reason is pragmatic: language is a tool, for teachers, for interpreters, for journalists, for anyone who has to communicate. A good workman knows his tools. A teacher of physical education uses the body as a tool: he studies its structure and operation. Those who use language as a tool should study its structure and operation.

(ii) The second reason is sociological: in the system of values that we impose through the educational system, Native languages gain status when they are adopted as formal topics of study. However, there is a corollary: they also lose status when they are taught badly.

(iii) The third reason is scientific: The Inuit world is too often divided by parochial differences of dialect. Linguistics provides a scientific explanation of dialectal differences.

(iv) The fourth reason is scientific; Consider this as a rationale for the teaching of science as a school subject: the study of science brings into consciousness the rational organisation that lies behind the apparent randomness of nature.

What is apparently more random and arbitrary than the series of sounds by which humans attempt to make themselves understood - in a language that has no Latin roots? And what language is more orderly, more rational, more amenable to the shaping of hypotheses and the prediction of logical patterns than Inuktitut? All the logical operations that are the hallmark of the scientific approach can be taught here without apparatus, without cages of gerbils or rock collections or graphs of daily temperatures. I am not suggesting that the study of language replace the other elements of a science curriculum, but I am demanding that the study of language receive the recognition due to it.

(v) The fifth reason is humanistic: the delight of students. I have referred to this throughout my presentation. Many of the Inuit students I have worked with take a great deal of enjoyment in discovering the orderly structure of their own language. There surely should be room for an intellectually worthy topic that provides so much respectable pleasure.

Dying Fall

It is time to finish. Let me tell you a true story. Two months ago I spent some time in Montreal with one of our students who was finishing her B. Ed. During the evening meal I made some comment in Inuktitut, badly mangling the language in the process. The ensuing dialogue went like this:

Student: Mick, your Inuktitut is getting worse and worse instead of better.

Me: Well, I know I have only a year or so more at this consultancy game because:

A: I'm forgetting the language.
B: You guys are taking over anyway.

Student: Oh no, Mick, oh no. You're getting it wrong.

A: We're taking over.
B: You're forgetting the language.

You see the reason for the title, don't you?

THE EXPRESSION OF CULTURE THROUGH LITERATURE

Noel McDermott

Noel McDermott has been a teacher and principal in the Eastern Arctic since 1971. He teaches courses in English Literature and Inuit Literature at the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program.

I want to start with two questions: what is literature and what does it do? Literature expresses the cultural identity of a people. It is a form of expression or release, by which the individual shares his/her unique self with the whole. Another function of literature is to define, describe, and illustrate what one is in relation to others. It builds confidence in both writer and readers because it strikes chords of harmony in each. Growing confidence enables readers and writers to make choices for themselves, based on self-knowledge, which in turn leads to strong desires for self-determination, both socially and politically. It is the moral duty of a teacher, of those who work with boys and girls, young men and women, and adults looking for direction, to encourage the writing and reading of, what may be called, literature of liberation. This is especially important in the North where the majority of teachers come from an alien culture and teach in a foreign tongue. Social justice demands no less than the empowerment of Inuit, to enable them to make choices which are meaningful and useful to them. To this end the teaching of literature should be directed.

Some of these remarks may need explanation and development and this can best be done by analogy. I want to refer to literature that is close to me, Irish literature. The Irish Literary Renaissance is the name given to the literary and political history of Ireland from about 1880 to 1930. This was a period of rising nationalism leading to the Easter Rebellion of 1916, and the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. In literature, the movement began with a revival

of interest in the folk traditions and literary remains of the past, together with a patriotic attempt to create a new, unmistakably Irish literature. Standish O'Grady's History of Ireland: Heroic Period (1876) gave impetus to this movement with its focus on ancient Irish heroes such as Cuchulain and Finn and the Fianna. There were many other works, collections of poetry, translations from and to Irish, reinterpreting and creating anew a Native literature.

A number of things may be noted here. For the most part, although there was a revival of the Irish language, much work was done in English. For years the language had been suppressed, literally beaten out of boys and girls. For it was believed that the Irish were not only barbarous savages, but our language was incomprehensible to our masters and thus an obstacle to be overcome, an impediment to progress, a disability, without which we would be much more manageable. Learning English, we would therefore dispose ourselves more suitably to the benefits of education in a foreign tongue and an alien manner. For many Inuit this story must be uncomfortably familiar.

Many of the leaders of the Easter Rising in 1916 were poets, dreamers, and writers in both Irish and English. They shared, above all, a passionate love of their country, a hatred of tyranny and deprivation, and most important, they possessed a knowledge of their common literary heritage. They read and re-read the ancient legends and stories: the epic tales of Tain Bo Cuailnge; the heroic exploits of Cuchulain and his mighty battles against the forces of Queen Maeve; of the Red Branch Knights and the beautiful and tragic Dierdre; the love story of Diarmid and Grainne.

They steeped themselves in the lyrics of their predecessors; songs of love, of war, of sheer rejoicing in the creation and in man's indomitable spirit. They noted how the songmakers and poets of the past, because they were forbidden by law to refer to their own country by name, created metaphors for Ireland. They called her Caithlin Ni Houlihan, Sean Bhean Bhocht, Aisling,

celebrating and lamenting her fortunes and misfortunes in the guise of an old woman or a beautiful young woman. The lyric became the most widely used form of the Irish National poets.

Ireland's literature has been much influenced by its oral tradition. It is not long ago that the Seanachi, or official story-teller, could be found in every village. The stories he told were familiar to the listeners. His art lay in the way he told the stories, not in introducing new matter. With growing pride in this heritage, and confidence in themselves, the writers began to record the stories and incidents that were part of the common round. They wrote their own stories with a flavour so distinctly Irish as to be unmistakable. Short story writers of the Irish Literary Renaissance helped to create a literature of liberation and a new nation.

I want to share with you an extract from an essay written by Mary Cousins, in 1962, entitled, Where are the stories of my people?

> Someone who cared about their language asked one of these hunters, "What will you do when you get out of hospital?" "Oh, you must know that I sit waiting for the moon to turn back for me so that I can go to my home and listen again to the stories of my people. Oh that I could sit again listening to the stories which come from a great distance. For this is the time for telling stories. First I must sit cooling my arms so that the tiredness can go out of me, and then I must listen, waiting for the story to come, for the story I want to hear. The mountains may be between us but I will turn around on my feet. I will turn my back on my tracks and, listening, open my ears to feel the story that comes in on the wind. Oh that I may listen again to the story that is the wind." Now this comes straight out of the Stone Age heart. He was homesick above all, not for his people, not for his country even, but for the stories of his people. (1)

Mary's eloquent appeal is rooted in her regard for the myths and legends of her people. However, there is great urgency in the question, "Where are the stories of my people?" Some of them have been written down, others have been recorded on tape. But many, too many, are still in the minds of the people themselves, the old people, the guardians of culture, the legislators

and law-givers of Inuit society, customs, manners, and habits. It is an imperative, an urgent and necessary duty that the stories and songs of the elders be recorded before irreparable losses are incurred.

We must acquaint teachers and students alike with the legends of Kiviok, Kaujaujuk, and Sedna. Chants and songs must be collected in each village and community, and students must be exposed to them, so that they may feel the pulses and rhythms of their fathers and grandfathers. Local versions of the same story should be gathered, for comparison and contrast, to enrich our students' understanding of the art of story-telling. Teachers must encourage students to write and write, after they have read and re-read the stories and legends of the Inuit. And how are the students to write? What models should they follow? I believe that the forms best suited to the needs of our students are the short story and lyric poem.

Broadly speaking, the short story has certain characteristic traits which make it a suitable vehicle in which young people may learn to express themselves. These include, a narrow focus, an emphasis on incident, little character development, economy, and restraint. But above all the short story arises out of the anecdote, spontaneous tale-telling which links the form to the oral traditions of the past.

Some of the key elements of the lyric poem are, a strong rhythmic pattern, a compression of thought and feeling, a ritualistic quality which invites communal participation, and especially, that it is a personal statement of experience. In this respect the drum plays an important part. The drum is expressive of freedom, individuality, celebration of life, independence and sharing. The rhythms of the drum create the mood in which the singer makes his unique contribution to the life of the community. Chants and personal songs are the links with the past for they contain the individual telling of events, which all share, not only in the listening but also by common

experience.

Naturally it is best if students are exposed to the stories and songs of their elders in their own language, Inuktitut. As more Inuit teachers are trained and take an interest in this work, Inuit literature will be as natural in our schools as Irish literature is in Irish schools. Meanwhile, it is necessary to consider the place of English in our schools and its relation to Inuit literature. The Baffin Divisional Board of Education is dedicated to a policy of bilingualism, Inuktitut and English being the languages fostered in its schools. Inuit traditional stories and poems, which are available in English translations, should also be taught so that one language can reinforce the ideas and attitudes contained in the other. If this is done, then students' writing, whether in English or Inuktitut, becomes a complementary expression of the same thing. As a teacher I have witnessed the extraordinary creative powers of Inuit boys and girls, writing in English, short stories and poems of quality unmatched by students in the United Kingdom or southern Canada, where the first language was English. This high level of sophisticated writing was achieved only after abandoning the traditional approaches to language teaching and learning.

Briefly the process I followed was this: discuss, express, read, write. We discussed anything of interest to the students and stressed the intrinsic importance of one's own experiences and knowledge. Typically our discussions centred around camping and hunting experiences, with many anecdotes of the exploits of individuals in the community, usually fathers or grandfathers. We discarded the basal readers (the Nelson series, Houghton Mifflin, etc.), and wrote our own stories and poems which were read and re-read with enjoyment and understanding. We avoided formal essay writing, grammar, and spelling lessons, and we discarded completely, as useless and wasteful, the misnamed language arts work books. Standard form was modelled in my own writing, and those books carefully chosen for this purpose. I based all correction on the individual student's works. I tried, whenever possible, to make reference to and use local stories, so that the students felt a link between what they achieved in school and what they heard and

knew from their homes. The forms which I found to be most congenial to the students needs were those of the short story and the lyric. The models that Inuit students, and future writers should follow are those of their elders, stories and personal poems and songs.

What happens when writers try to emulate forms not natural to them? They go astray. They wander into territory where they are lost, and the works they create are creaky and full of holes, and they sink before they have a chance to be launched. An example of what I mean can be seen in Harpoon of the Hunter by Markoosie (2). Published in 1970, in Markoosie's own English translation, this novel, a first by an Inuit about Inuit, is an example to young writers of what not to do. Among the many faults in the novel there is misinformation, misrepresentation, stilted dialogue, starchy set-pieces, and most damaging of all, southern ideas imposed on northern people. This is not the place to give a detailed critical analysis of the novel. A careful reading of the dialogue, for example, by an alert reader, will quickly show that my claim is well justified. The central symbol of the harpoon is both vague and imprecise in description. Markoosie makes no attempt to differentiate between the different kinds of harpoon and their various functions. There are other inconsistencies in the novel which make it a less than satisfying work. These flaws may suggest a number of possibilities: Markoosie wrote for a non-Inuit audience and therefore details were not important; Markoosie had, himself, an imprecise knowledge of the experiences he describes; Markoosie has more interest in writing a novel than finding the most congenial form for what he had to say.

A more successful work is I, Nuligak (3) an autobiographical diary, but it is in effect a series of short stories and anecdotes, recorded with extraordinary fidelity to detail. Although Harpoon of the Hunter and I, Nuligak are different types of works, imaginative fiction on the one hand and faithful record of natural happenings on the other, Nuligak shows his indebtedness to and mastery of the story teller's art in a way that Markoosie does not. We also feel that Nuligak

embodies in his work that oneness with the animals, and the land, and the sea, which is beautifully expressed, even in translation in many of the poems in Colombo's anthology (4). Markoosie fails to show the harmony between man and nature in his fiction which Nuligak achieves so successfully in telling his own story. It is true that the present arrangement of I, Nuligak owes much to the editor, but not enough to make any significant difference to the tone, and more importantly, to its form.

I started by saying that literature expresses the cultural identity of a people. If young Inuit are going to find their particular identity, they must look to the past, to the store of wisdom and knowledge contained in the stories, legends, and songs of the elders. They must steep themselves in their traditional history, and through their own strength and confidence write the stories of tomorrow. Without a knowledge of the past there will be no stories tomorrow, and Mary's question will be asked in vain: "Where are the stories of my people?"

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SELF-CONCEPT AND MINORITY STATUS

Ester Cullblom

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Earlier Research

Since the early 1960s, research on minorities expanded markedly in all parts of the world, including Sweden. To a great extent this research focused on the self-concept of minorities. The many immigrant groups in industrialized Western Europe have been a primary target for research (Lange and Westin 1981, Stone 1981, Westin 1973), but attention has also been paid to indigenous minorities, including the Saami of Arctic Scandinavia (Eidheim 1971, Helander, E. 1984, Johansson 1977), the Finnish speaking minority in Sweden's Tornio Valley (Hansegard 1968, Ronnmark and Wikstrom 1980), and Finland-Swedes in Finland (Allardt & Starck 1981, Liebkind 1979).

In North America similar research has been undertaken for many years because of the ethnic diversity of that continent's population (Wylie 1979). Many North American minority groups are underprivileged and there have been a number of conflicts between those minorities and majority groups, and between minority groups themselves. In such environments, a profound ethnic awareness is developed at an earlier age than in environments where an individual's group participation is seldom questioned. Some minority groups make efforts to become integrated with the majority population, but there are many factors which inhibit full integration, especially

visible, biologically inherited factors such as skin colour and physiognomic features. These factors are unchangeable and therefore make integration and social mobility more difficult. They also make the denial of origin less easy. Other socially determined characteristics, particularly language, can result in stigmatizing experiences in minority people's interactions with majority group members. A particularly decisive factor is the value the majority group attributes to the minority.

It is important to study man's self-concept because it is self-concept that regulates his behaviour. It influences his ability to implement his ambitions in life.

Tornio River Valley

In northern Sweden, close to the Finnish border, the population has always spoken Finnish. Finland belonged to Sweden until 1809, when the country came under Russian rule. The new border split a homogeneous language and cultural area in two halves, one on the Finnish side and one on the Swedish side of the Tornio River Valley. This Tornedalen region of Sweden has always been acknowledged as Finnish speaking, but it is widely recognized that the area is bilingual with both Swedish and Finnish being spoken.

The Finnish language has, however, been thwarted in society and especially in education. School children were often punished for speaking their mother-tongue, and libraries were forbidden to purchase Finnish literature. Consequently, the Finnish language had a very low status. Even today evidence of a Finnish accent in speaking Swedish is considered low status. Hansegard (1968), in his book Tvasprakighet eller halvsprakighet (Bilingualism or Semilingualism) maintains that the low status of Finnish has unquestionably influenced its speakers in the bilingual Tornedalen region both intellectually and emotionally, in a negative way. His concept of semilingualism, a substandard proficiency in a language, has dominated language debate among

members of the Finnish-speaking minority for a decade, and is today very much in question. Hansegard's theories were derived from his subjective judgements and had no empirical base. As a member of the Finnish-speaking minority of the Tornio Valley, I internalized Hansegard's description of my group as being semilingual, including all the negative connotations this had for the mental condition of the group.

In discussions concerning economic policy, the population of the Tornio River Valley is often categorized as a weak group with a high rate of unemployment and a lack of entrepreneurial initiative in comparison to other minority groups which are economically more enterprising and which have strong economies and little unemployment. These groups are discussed in political debates and in the mass-media, and their status is in this way brought to the attention of not only the groups themselves, but also the public at large. The causes are often sought in the psychological characteristics of the people in question rather than where they should be sought; in society as a whole. With the natural inquisitiveness inherent in human beings, I started studying the people around me. I observed that within my group there were people who appeared to have negative self-concepts, and others who appeared to have positive self-concepts. I also found both those qualities within the majority group. It was during these observations that I also became aware of the Tornio Valley inhabitants' negative evaluation of the interference effects of their language when speaking Swedish. This suspicion of negative evaluation was confirmed by my investigation among school children (Cullblom 1978).

Theories on Self-Concept

There is considerable literature on self-concept and for this reason a precise definition of self-concept can be elusive. However, for the purposes of my research, I summarized self-concept as follows:

> Self-concept is man's perceptions and experiences (thoughts and feelings) of himself, his mental history structured in his conscious mind. Its central dimension seems to be the emotional experience, the self-esteem, which becomes apparent in the daily process of interaction. Self-esteem then, can be regarded as a product of the evaluation activities which constantly occupy the human being. Cognition is a complementary dimension, which, in cooperation with perception, learning, thinking, and language, structures processes and events so as to make possible an understanding of the surrounding world. In order to make one's experiences and perceptions of one's social reality form themselves into meaningful coherence, to an entity, a certain degree of continuity is required. The impact of continuity on the development of self-concept implies that the importance of the ethnic group is immense. It is one of the few categories which, in addition to sex, constitute continuity in man's life.

The theories also indicate that man's self-concept on the one hand comprises a general, overall evaluation, untied to any single quality of group adherence, and on the other hand, a situational evaluation.

Research on Self-Concept in Tornio Valley

Under the guidance of Professor Henning Johansson, I studied the self-concept of secondary school students in the Tornio Valley. I compared my findings to those of a corresponding group of students from Gnosjo in southern Sweden, an area with a well established economy and with few linguistic or ethnic minority peoples.

The purpose of this research project was to study the self-concept of both groups from (i) two different aspects and (ii) from two levels. These were:

(i) From the general aspect of self-estimation without ties to any specific category of quality; and

From the situational aspect of self-concept, in this case group belonging, as it is manifested in contacts with the majority.

(ii) From the individual level in relation to the first aspect above, and the group level in relation to the second aspect.

The first aspect was studied using Rosenberg's self-estimation test, a test of the utmost validity, specially adjusted to Swedish conditions. The second aspect was studied with investigations specially devised for the particular situations and groups. Data from the Tornio Valley group included 826 inquiries followed up with 90 interviews. Data from the Gnosjo group was extracted from 324 inquiries.

Results

Aspect 1: The individual level: No group differences regarding the global self-estimation of the individuals.

Aspect 2: The group level: Marked differences between the two groups as to their way of estimating themselves in comparison with the majority. Tornedalen youths felt that what they represented outwards and how they were looked upon by the majority was worth nothing, nor was it worth preserving or developing. The responses of the Gnosjo youths showed that they were fully aware of the good reputation their region holds in the rest of Sweden as a region of creative and prosperous manufacturers.

Ethnic Strategies in the Relationship of the Minority and the Majority

A prominent theory in the literature on self-concept is that everybody has a need to develop and preserve a positive self-concept. The impact of the ethnic group on the individual's self-concept has been emphasized above. It is of great importance in determining how the group is viewed in comparison with the majority. Decisive for the individual is how he chooses to act in this interaction. Possible strategies are:

(i) To deny membership of ethnic group. Identification with the majority group and adjustment of behaviour according to the accepted rules of the majority group. When the ethnic group is a so-called language minority, the adjustment is primarily one of language, which is accompanied by the development of linguistic self-censorship.

(ii) To identify oneself with the minority group and internalize the negative values ascribed this group by the majority. Behaviour is adjusted to what is expected by the majority group. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. As an example, anyone who has internalized the term semilingual may not rely on his own language abilities in a profession which requires good skills in the majority language.

(iii) To identify oneself with the minority group and to maintain the minority group's characteristics, ascribing them positive values. Thus a minority language such as Tornio Valley Finnish can be regarded as an asset in contacts with Finland, its peoples and its different cultural manifestations. Finding and accepting a positive value in such minority characteristics often means opposing common opinions. This behaviour goes against what is expected by the majority group.

(iv) To identify oneself very strongly with one's minority group, and develop border-guarding mechanisms aiming at counteracting integration with the majority. Such groups hold high status in their relation with the majority and dictate interaction conditions with the latter group. As a rule they have access to economic, political and cultural power.

In Europe, Romanies and occasionally Saami develop these border-preserving mechanisms. The unwillingness of Romanies to marry outside their own group is another example of group-preserving measures. The Saami mark their group's distinctive character by cherishing many typical group activities such as reindeer herding and handicrafts. In some areas they also have their own schools where instruction is offered in the Saami language. Strategies (iii) and (iv)

differ in their intensity in regard to both identification and behaviour. The strengthened intensity of strategy (iv) may be explained as an effect of strongly organized groups, and it regulates interaction with the majority. Such organizations give a strong support to the individual in his group adherence.

An attempt to describe people's actions in different ethnic processes according to these strategies does not, of course, give an exhaustive description of a complicated reality. However, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that "... if your social position is by birth one of low status, then, most likely more is required to stand up against the surrounding expectations for a weak self-confidence, than what is required from the person who is from the outset socially privileged" (Westin 1984, p 167). In schools, the implicit or explicit evaluations of the children's social position have a strong and lasting impact on them. The question is: What strategy does education choose to support and encourage the student? Study showed that the objective, external system of categories strongly influences young people especially. Too many minority peoples are prone to accept the evaluations made by majority groups. Their behaviours, then, take on the character of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Reliance on one's own abilities is missing.

The young people in my study should not bear the blame for the negative views expressed. They have internalized these views which have been predominant for generations, and which have been ascribed to them by different social institutions. In order to bring about change, a number of efforts are required. These include:

- Positive political decisions to make the Tornedalen region attractive enough to youths to make them want to stay there and develop it.

- A changed socio-cultural direction in education. Teaching at the primary level must be based on the children's own culture in order to create coherence between the environment of the children's home

and community and the outside world. As a consequence teacher training must be changed in the same direction.

A strengthened awareness of and reliance on one's own ability to influence the social situation, as well as a collective responsibility for it.

A comprehensive social institution for cultural policies anchored in the region, aimed at motivating minority people to find knowledge through research, lectures, and discussions. Documentation of the cultural manifestations in one's own region must be part of the activity.

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CULTURAL DISCONTINUITY AMONG INUIT AS EXHIBITED IN THEIR CONCEPTS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE AND HAVING CHILDREN

Karla Jessen Williamson

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In trying to find an answer to the apparent incongruence between the expectations schooling gives to the recipient and the actual outcome, I will barely scratch the surface of a very complex situation. Utilizing Inuit concepts of human existence and the importance of having children, I will attempt to explain cultural discontinuity. The two concepts have been chosen because man is a necessity for culture and children are the recipients of that culture. Children are also the ingredients of school. Concrete notions of cultural discontinuities caused by schooling will be discussed briefly. Note that insofar as the circumpolar region is one of the largest areas in the world with a basically similar culture, this paper is based on observations from across the North rather than some particular location.

Inuit Concept of Human Existence

> Man is an animal. A human being is that animal plus culture. Culture was brought into being by man, but once in existence culture acquired a life of its own and has moulded men and women into human beings with each generation that has followed. But culture is, first and last, dependent upon man; it will live while he lives, die when he does. (White 1977:246)

The quest for a definition of what culture is has been an on-going challenge for many people, particularly for anthropologists. This quotation is White's definition and it seems to reflect the way in which the Inuit saw themselves. While feeling that they were part of the surrounding

environment, they refer to themselves as Inuit, human beings, only to differentiate themselves from other living organisms in the Arctic. It was only recently that the word Inuit developed an ethnic and a political connotation in the public mind. The word simply means the people.

What is human existence and what is the purpose of human life on earth? These are the classic questions which human beings have puzzled over for ages without finding an answer. Various religious philosophies have sprouted around the world, each attempting to develop some answers. Religion is a universal component of culture. In order for a religion to be practised by its followers, it has to make sense to the people in its own socio-economic context and times.

The Inuit of the Circumpolar North have humbly seen themselves as an integral part of the environment and of the universe. As human beings, they saw themselves as temporarily the embodiment of an on-going soul:

> Every person consists of a soul, a name, and a body. The body is perishable and is only there as a case for the soul while man is alive on earth. But the soul represents real life and it is a manifestation of the force that makes a man a man, a bear a bear, a raven a raven ...; it has its place somewhere or other in the body, streams through the whole of man's body and being, will and faculties as long as he breathes. But when he dies it leaves the body, for a soul is life which cannot die.
>
> The soul is part of an on-going force which creates life. The soul concept is not only applicable to human beings, but to all living creatures in the environment. But each human being contains one soul while the animals carry a communal one.
>
> The soul is an invisible but tremendous force, and it is so essential to the life of man that all danger that affects the body must necessarily affect the soul too. So, when a body becomes sick it is always the soul that has been affected by an evil spirit; and in reality an evil spirit is no other than an evil soul which for some reason or other is working for the destruction and unhappiness of others. For all powerful and supernatural forces, good or bad, are souls. (Rasmussen 1931:214)

Because of these evil spirits, a person can, with shamanic help, change his or her soul whenever a serious sickness occurs. How does a person receive a soul according to the Inuit?

> The name, in Eskimo belief, is the soul, and the soul is the name ... Each individual is given a name at birth, but names can be changed any number of times throughout life, depending on the individual's health. If a person became ill, it was believed that the cause was due to some cosmological imbalance and that the force of the soul or the name might be needed somewhere else. (Williamson 1974:24)

As the soul has a tremendous power, so does the name:

> To every name is attached a certain store of power that is transferred to those who bear the name. It is a kind of magic power, difficult to explain. It is as if a name had its own particular soul acting quite independently of the body's soul, and this soul is for the benefit of all those who have the name. According to some people, this means that the soul of the body, the real foundation of life, is the one that makes mankind human, while the soul of the name merely makes it generally strong, keeps it up and projects it.
>
> But human beings are continually being named after one another, generation after generation, and with every new naming the number of names increases and thus at last form a long chain of projectors which, unseen, follow the one that bears the name, are with him, work inside him, keep danger away and become his guardian spirit. (Rasmussen 1931:219-20)

In fact, having the same name, creates a special relationship between individuals. In central west Greenland, children given another's name are called atiinnguaq, little name sake. Williamson has suggested the Inuit society is a whole network of "companionate name-souls"(1974).

Often a newborn child will be given the name of a recently deceased family or band member. Consequently, behaviour toward the new bearer of that name will be affected by the attitudes towards its previous bearer. In this way a special bond between the child and various adults in the community is created. Such relationships can last for a life-time.

Inuit Naming Customs Today

Although in recent years most names have been changed from the traditional ones into biblical and western names, especially in Alaska, the Western Canadian Arctic and Greenland, the Inuit naming system exists today, but to a more limited extent. Newborn children are still being named after deceased family or village members through Christian baptism, but the personification of the deceased in the name-bearer consists of fragmented identification, i.e. love for the deceased person. What is new is that the Christian names are now kept unchanged throughout life, where traditionally names could be changed due to illness. Surnames were never used before the colonial administrations were brought into the lives of the Inuit. Although an Inuk might have a western or biblical name today, it is still a common practice to also have an Inuktitut name which is used for informal family and daily use. These names can become so widely used that sometimes the baptismal names are forgotten. Traditionally names were not sex-linked since the soul could not be limited in any way, but today most names are genderized, especially the western and Christian names.

The story behind my own naming provides an example. At the time my mother was pregnant with me, her small community in central western Greenland, consisting of twenty or so households, was hit by a virus. The doctor who lived in a bigger town sent prescriptions through a midwife who, because of a language barrier, gave the wrong medication to the village children. The consequence was deadly: five small children died within a few days. Several months later, I was born and was given the first names of these children. Throughout my childhood I called the parents of these deceased children anaanannguaq and ataatannguaq (little mother and little father). They, in turn, treated me specially, giving me gifts and treats at appropriate anniversaries each year. In fact I have five little birthdays every year. As it is now in Greenland, the practice of naming newborn children after deceased people is still used, but to varying degrees depending on area and the identity-sense of the individual family. In smaller villages the practice is much

stronger than in the bigger settlements and towns where it is used less and less. The trend now is to baptize children with Inuktitut names, preferably the Polar-Eskimo names, since revitalisation of Inuit culture has been strong during the last ten to fifteen years in Greenland.

The Importance of Having Children

Just as many other people around the world have speculated over how human existence came about, so have the Inuit. There are several legends concerning this. Here is one example:

> ... once upon a time people believed that children grow out of the ground just as flowers grow. Everything came from the ground ... (Rasmussen 1931)

Symbolically, it shows the strong ties Inuit held with their land. Philosophically speaking, "... the purpose of human existence is for the individual to make fullest, and richest possible investment of his intellect, his knowledge, and his personality, in his own children" (Williamson 1974). Clearly, children are seen as an investment of the intellect, which is treasured enormously. With little intellect people simply did not survive the harsh climate and harvest circumstances found in the Arctic.

Human life as such was never taken too seriously (Rasmussen 1931; Williamson 1974) when compared to the universal soul-life. Sharing is one of the most important aspects of the Inuit life and this philosophy affects most aspects of Inuit culture. The kind of sharing which Inuit practice applies even to the physical care of children. Most adults are considered responsible for making sure that all the children around them are cared for. Sharing also is manifested through the common practice of custom adoption in the Arctic.

Another important aspect of having children is economics. Children are the future providers for both the coming elders and the next generation. The raising of children, then, has to do with mutual help and they are given great encouragement to contribute to the hunting economy

(Petersen 1980:45). Depending on unreliable resources made survival for the Inuit extremely difficult at times, and many innovative techniques for survival were practised over thousands of years. One of the practices was the division of daily tasks by sex. This was the means of rationalizing energy and resources. From a very early age children were taught the various responsibilities they had to undertake depending on their sex (Williamson 1974:51). Regarding this division of functions by sex, Petersen noted that although the division was very apparent in adult roles, it was not practised at all age levels. Rather, the division was: the men on one side and the rest of the family on the other. Certainly, boys were taught how to use a kayak, harpoon, dogsled and other male-oriented equipment, and girls were taught how to prepare skin, sew, and look after smaller siblings, but these roles did not stop them from helping people out with whatever had to be done (1980:5).

The Inuit child socialization process is that of the communication of the culture's cognitive system, its social organization, belief system, technology, economy, aesthetics, and all the related values, both negative and positive (Williamson 1986). It has often bewildered foreign observers who consider it to be undisciplined. Fortunately, the same critical observers have concluded that the socialization process as practised by the Inuit resulted in adults completely prepared for and fully participant in their own hunting society. With minimal failure, this socialization process made virtually every member of the group socially worthwhile and valuable (Petersen 1980).

The Present Situation

Recently, an aging Inuk man said:

> What use am I, what purpose do I serve, if I cannot bring up my own children? I do not know myself, and I do not know what to do with myself and I have no sense of on-going significance in my life if I cannot bring up my children (Williamson 1974:50).

Having children is something in which Inuit still take great pleasure. The above quotation sums up the feeling most Inuit have toward their children to this day.

Inuit have always had very large families. Since health services have become more accessible and since people have become more immune to diseases, population growth has doubled. This in a relatively short time. At present, across the circumpolar world, young people below twenty years of age compose the largest proportion of the total population. Cooperation and sharing being the determining factors for survival among the Inuit, an overflow of children has so far easily been taken up through adoption by less fortunate couples. Even today it is very unusual to encounter childless Inuit couples.

But due to economic changes and changes in life expectancy, the knowledge that Inuit children need to acquire for survival in the Arctic has changed greatly. Learning is no longer based on the tightly knit family economic unit. It is now geared towards the particular national (U.S., Canada, Denmark) economy's upward mobility. Such change has placed the relationship between the generations in an awkward situation.

Cultural Discontinuity

Cultural continuity is a process wherein parents or adults pass their knowledge of their own culture to the next generation through the socialization process. Culture is not static, but is a dynamic entity which begins to deteriorate when the culture-bearers no longer can pass their knowledge to the next generation or can do so only fragmentarily (Williamson 1986). This seems to be the case in the Arctic where Inuit parents no longer have full responsibility for the up-bringing of their children, since formal schooling has taken over the role of providing what many believe to be the fundamental knowledge. Parents, although very capable, are not in the position where they can pass on their knowledge of the soul system, the environment, the language, the

whole culture as such, to their children. Reflecting the influence of the school, young people see the traditional knowledge as secondary to what they learn in school. The overall result is that the children are no longer an integral part of the traditional culture and society.

For most young people in the Arctic, the human being (Inuk) is no longer seen as an integral part of the environment and the universe; but as a superior being imposing his will on the habitat. The animals of the Arctic are no longer his equals but minor beings. It is increasingly rare for the communal souls of the animals to be offered gestures of respect when hunted for food. Such an attitude makes it next to impossible for children to cooperate with the natural order of the Arctic climate, and with the Inuit culture. Human life as such was traditionally not seen to be as important as the soul's life, but today it is seen to be more important than other beings, displacing human life in the traditional context of its on-going place in the universal cosmos.

Education and Formal Schooling

It is interesting to note that school often is seen as a learning institution which, for some reason or another, is lagging behind the progress of industrial society. However, in the Arctic the school has been too futuristic. Futuristic in unrealistic ways when utilizing curricula which have all been geared towards preparation for life in an industrialized society. So far the industrial way of life has not been realized by any means, and so many of the graduates of the school system are left in limbo. Such a factor has caused a conflict of values and understandings between generations, a conflict which will take an enormous understanding on all parts to resolve. Although the following quotation dates from 1968, it is still the larger society's point of view that schooling for Inuit children should prepare them for "more advanced types of employment in Arctic industrial centres for well-trained, sophisticated Eskimo-employment which will enable them to live richer, more interesting lives" (Valentine and Vallee, ed. 1968:194). The tragic

consequence of such a process is that by the time children finish school they would not have had the opportunity to learn the values nor the skills for life in their own environment.

> Most Arctic settlements have examples of (such) wastage, drifters who are unable to adapt to the loneliness or the employment conditions of the town, but who despise traditional employment, and live parasitically off the sharing pattern of the community. (Valentine, Vallee, ed. 1968:194).

This situation of young drifters has more than doubled over the twenty-five years since these words were written. Visiting larger settlements in the Arctic one cannot possibly avoid seeing groups of Inuit youth hanging around, trying to live out the great emptiness of their lives.

The school system, having been blamed for its failure to adapt to the needs of Inuit, has nevertheless been seen as a system needed to help Inuit in the unavoidable process of changing their society. This opinion is certainly upheld by the larger society's established point of view about indigenous cultures, but it is also very much nurtured by the Inuit themselves.

It is true that Inuit do not wish to return to their traditional patterns of life. On the contrary, they do wish to be seen as valid culture, participating and contributing to the contemporary way of life in their own particular countries. Over the last ten years Inuit have also created an international organization which asserts the significance of their huge Arctic habitat in global environmental terms. So, seeing the great potentials which the school system can offer in overcoming the loss of pride and self-sufficiency, Inuit push for education. Inuit, like other peoples in developing countries and the fourth world, are willing to learn the other culture of the school because they feel that it will bring substantial material and non-material rewards. But Inuit also feel this could be achieved without the loss of human resources and talents they possess as the heritage of their culture.

Education and Cultural Discontinuities

> The new schools, created for the purpose of aiding, and abetting modernization, are quite effective. Without question they disrupt the transmission of the traditional culture. Because the curricular content is alien to the existing culture there is little or no reinforcement in the home and family, or in the community as a whole, for what happens in the school. The school is isolated from the cultural system it is intended to serve.
>
> The non-relatedness of the school to the community in both the content being transmitted and the methods used to transmit it is logically carried into the aspirations of students concerning their own future. These aspirations are often quite unrealistic (Ogbu 1982).

There is no doubt that there are a number of teachers and many students in such institutions who find themselves in a situation where they do not have the authority to do anything about the continued frustration which the school has engendered over the years.

Ogbu (1982) categorized three forms of cultural discontinuities. These were, universal discontinuities experienced by all children; primary discontinuities experienced as a transitional phenomenon by immigrants and non-western peoples being introduced to western-type schooling; and secondary discontinuities, which are more or less enduring among castelike or subordinate minorities within western nations. Based on Ogbu's examples we can conclude that the following cultural discontinuities are the consequences of the school systems in the Arctic regions:

(i) Schools are modelled after other culture groups rather than a reflection of and an integral part of the original Inuit culture.

(ii) The curriculum bears minimal relationship with Inuit culture.

(iii) During the larger part of the school program Inuktitut is not used as the language of instruction. In fact, most of the instruction in Alaska and Canada is in English, while a good part of the instruction in Greenland is in Danish.

(iv) The learning style in schools is incongruent with the traditional Inuit learning style.

The consequence of these discontinuities is, among other things, personal developmental retardation, both linguistic and mental. There are other factors such as social development which obviously are affected by the lack of personal development. Both Ogbu and Vallee emphasize the fact that poor teaching contributes greatly to cultural discontinuity. This of course goes back to poor teacher preparation. Hopefully, these inadequacies will be remedied through the teacher education programs sprouting up among the Native peoples. The Teacher Education Program in Greenland existed since 1847 and does still produce Native teachers. The Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program in Iqaluit has just recently started and is affiliated to McGill University. The University of Alaska at Fairbanks runs the Village and Rural Development Program, which among other things promotes the training of local people as teachers.

Conclusion

The human wastage among Inuit youth reported by Valentine and Vallee in 1968 still exists, but the problem has greatly increased since then. Although there are some successful graduates every year, the results of formal schooling in the North are shameful both when compared to the success of the traditional Inuit socialization of children, and in comparison with national school averages. The drop-out rate and weak academic performance data speak for themselves. Fortunately such high levels of failure have led parents and Inuit organizations to question the educational process, and to raise their voices to promote and preserve Inuit culture.

It is reasonable to believe that schools can be one of the solutions to improving the circumstances of despair among Inuit youth and that sooner or later, if we all try hard enough, the possibility of making schools relevant and useful to all Inuit children will be achieved without causing a great cleft between the generations, or between Inuit youth and the majority society.

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APPENDICES

MINISTERS CONFERENCE
NEWS RELEASE

The following information is taken from GNWT news releases:

Circumpolar Education Ministers Meet

IQALUIT (June 30, '87) - On June 29 and 30, 1987, the Minister of Education for the Northwest Territories, The Honourable Dennis Patterson, hosted the first meeting of Ministers of Education with circumpolar education responsibilities at Mingutuq Lodge, 85 miles east of Iqaluit.

The Honourable Loyola Hearn, Minister of Education for Newfoundland and Labrador, Honourable Piers McDonald, Minister of Education for the Yukon Territory, and Dr. William Demmert, Commissioner of Education for Alaska participated. Honourable Claude Ryan, Minister of Education for Quebec was represented by Jean-Paul Olivier. Henrick Lennert represented Honourable Jens Lyberth, Minister responsible for Education and Culture for the Home Rule Government of Greenland.

Consensus was reached on a number of issues for future cooperation and it was agreed that continuing meetings of Ministers responsible for circumpolar education would be beneficial.

A memorandum of understanding between all Ministers represented will be signed. This document will include agreement to pursue possibilities for sharing program information and services, as well as research findings.

A second agreement was to co-ordinate education program development to avoid duplication in areas of common interest. Family life education and drug and alcohol education were identified as examples of areas for co-operation in development tasks.

A joint publication outlining exemplary policies and programs which have been proven will be prepared this year. Although it was noted that a wide variety of educational organizations and priorities exist, there are far more commonalities.

Exploratory discussions were held on the possibilities of future exchanges of staff and students in schools and post-secondary institutions. The concept of "sister schools", or twinning of schools was agreed to as being useful.

A second meeting of Ministers with circumpolar education will be held in Juneau, Alaska, in late May, 1988. The primary topic of discussion at that meeting will be the application of distance education technology to circumpolar regions.

This first meeting of circumpolar Ministers was held in conjunction with a circumpolar seminar on Education at Iqaluit June 27 - July 1. The Ministers joined educators from the Circumpolar North for plenary sessions focussing on the topic of Inuit control of Inuit education.

Northwest Territories and Yukon Sign Agreement on Areas of Mutual Interest in Education

Iqaluit (June 30, '87) - The Northwest Territories and Yukon will look at ways of sharing educational resources and opportunities through a Letter in Intent, signed today in Iqaluit by Education Minister Dennis Patterson and his Yukon counterpart, Piers McDonald.

Consensus was reached on a number of issues for future cooperation and it was agreed that continuing meetings of Ministers responsible for circumpolar education would be beneficial.

Education Minister Dennis Patterson said "The Northwest Territories and Yukon have common concerns and common interests in education. By exploring ways we can share expertise and

research results on northern issues, both Territories will benefit."

"Working together we will be examining a wide range of initiatives that could lead to curriculum and program development, shared workshops and seminars, and joint development of distance education technology," said Yukon Minister of Education Piers McDonald.

Possible joint initiatives to be explored include:

- sharing of curriculum and program development and expense;
- joint workshops and conferences of teachers and staff;
- joint development of distance education programming and technology;
- exchange of research findings;
- improved access to education for interchange students, including a review of fees and financial assistance; and
- exchange of information on policy and legislative issues.

The Letter of intent was signed at the Circumpolar Education Conference held in Iqaluit.

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